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The Missionary Labors and Travels of Father Claude Jean Allouez, S.J.

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THE MISSIONARY LABORS AND TRAVELS OF

FATHER CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ, S.J.

1658-1689

BY

M. LINK, S. J.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
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VITA AUCTORIS

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Chicago, August 1937

CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | Page |
|---|------|
| I. The setting: France and her missionary activity during the seventeenth century | 1 |
| II. Father Claude Jean Allouez, S.J. Birth and preparation for the mission fields of the New World (1622-1658), and life in the Eastern Missions of New France (1658-1665)..... | 8 |
| III. The Western Missions | |
| Part I. Wisconsin | |
| Section A: Headquarters at the Mission du Saint Esprit on Chequamegon Bay (1665-1669)..... | 17 |
| Section B: Headquarters at the Mission du Saint François Xavier on Green Bay (1669-1676)..... | 45 |
| Part II. The Illinois Country: Mission of the Immaculate Conception on the Illinois River (1676-1679) - Residence at the Mission du Saint François Xavier on Green Bay (1679-1683 - Return to and stay at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias (1683-1687)..... | 65 |
| Part III. Labors among the Miamis of Michigan (1688-1689) Mission of St. Joseph on the St. Joseph's River - Allouez's death at the Mission of St. Joseph (1689) | 76 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 80 |

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING: FRANCE AND HER MISSIONARY

ACTIVITY DURING THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

France in the seventeenth century was the ⁺greatest Catholic country in the world. After the unity of medieval Christendom had been shaken and rent by the Protestant schism and the religious wars of the sixteenth century, France and Spain were the leading defenders of the older Church. As Spain, the recognized bulwark of the Catholic Church, declined from her high estate, France rose to become not only the greatest political power, but also the greatest religious power in Europe: it was the century of the House of Bourbon descended from the younger son of St. Louis, Robert, Count of Clermont; of royal rulers as Henry IV (1589-1610), Louis XIII, (1610-1643) and Louis XIV (1643-1715); of such ministers as Sully (1598-1610), Richelieu (1621-1642), Mazarin (1642-1661), Colbert (1662-1683), and Louvois (1666-1691); of such generals as Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Vendôme and Vauban. In 1628 La Rochelle surrendered to the royal forces, and there followed the subjugation of the Huguenots, who thereafter were no longer an armed political party, but only a tolerated sect. There followed a notable revival of enthusiasm for the Church and for religious activity. With cardinals as Ministers of the State for two successive generations, the religious revival expressed itself in a sense of personal responsibility for

the upbuilding of the Church; a desire for sacrifice and salvation was a dominant force in social life. In the latter portion of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century France produced an immense foreign missionary activity, in which the Jesuits played a leading role. During this period Spanish Jesuits were exploring and evangelizing the distant lands of South America, Mexico, western United States,¹ Asia and Africa. French Jesuits devoted their efforts to the aborigines of North America, upon whose northeastern border their king had acquired a foothold.

In their missionary labors the Jesuits were supported through liberal supplies of money and men by the French nation. The king bestowed lands and an annual stipend; in 1632 Louis XIII confirmed the right of converting North America to the Jesuits. Pious donors added lands and annuities; the aristocracy especially aided missionary projects. Among the bourgeois families, grown rich during the wars and by reason of the great trade awakening, was a sturdy, sober-minded and religiously-inclined people, who gave liberally not only of their substance, but from whose ranks was recruited the personnel of the religious orders. The kinsfolk and friends of the Jesuits in North America were legion. For the edification of the faithful and as a stimulant to further missionary activity, the Jesuit missionaries prepared accounts of the labors and hardships endured in the New World, and the publication of each "relation," as these reports were called, was an event not only in the religious world, but also in the social world. To these "Jesuit Relations" are we especially indebted for our story

1. Herbert Eugene Bolton, The Rim of Christendom (New York, 1936) 3-23. H.E. Bolton pens a glowing eulogy of the work of the Jesuits in southwestern North America in the "Prologue" of this book.

of the life of the French missionaries.²

New France in the seventeenth century was a vast wilderness. There were fortified trading posts scattered along the lower St. Lawrence at Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, and from these centers extended westward a mythically-storied empire dotted with forest-shaded rivers and lakes. Raids by the fierce Iroquois, sworn enemies of the French, rendered impossible, save close to the protection of the stockade, the exploitation of the natural resources of the country or the cultivation of its rich bottom lands.³ The demand for furs in Europe urged the daring "coureurs de bois" and the hardy agents of the monopoly of the Hundred Associates in Quebec with the soft pad of moccasin and the stealthy paddle of the birch bark canoe into the unknown West. Trade was confined to barter with the Indians, who would come down the water courses once in a year, their canoes laden with furs. The Indians would travel in large bands for better protection against their enemies.

The footprints of the Jesuits are almost everywhere in that part of North America once named New France. The work of the Jesuits in this wilderness was not the isolated, accidental embodiment of individual enthusiasm: it was part of a wonderfully organized, directed and controlled movement. Its picturesque features of self-sacrifice, personal suffering,

2. Reuben Gold Thwaites has earned the gratitude of historians for his pioneer work in the publication of many of the "relations" of the French Jesuits: The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents -- Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (Cleveland 1899)
3. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237. An extract from the Relation of 1666-1667 tells us that "the Iroquois used to keep us so closely confined that we did not even dare till the lands that were under the cannon of the forts, much less go to a distance to ascertain the points of excellence of a soil."

individual bravery and stamina, persistent effort and all-conquering faith, were qualities inherent in the Society of Jesus to which these men belonged. First laboring in the early French settlements and the Huron and Algonquin villages of the East, the hopes of the Jesuits for permanent success were overthrown when, at the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, these promising missions were utterly destroyed by the Iroquois warriors. Attempts were made by such giants as St. Isaac Jogues and Joseph Marie Chaumonot to penetrate the habitat of the conqueror, and to subdue these fierce tribesmen by the gospel message. Some converts were won, and martyrdom heroically suffered, but no Iroquois tribe was ever christianized by the Jesuits. The evangelized tribes attacked by the Iroquois fled like leaves before a northern blast and sought refuge on the distant shores of Lake Superior, or hid themselves in the dense forests of northwestern Wisconsin. Driven from their former habitats, lurking in hidden coverts of the woods, the remnant of the Huron tribes and their Algonquin neighbors wandered through the northern wilderness, stopping here and there as chance brought them respite to build temporary villages or raise an occasional crop of corn. The Jesuit fathers, of whom some had suffered martyrdom with their Huron converts, and others had fled to the settled parts of the colony, sought in vain for more than a decade to reestablish their ruined missions. In 1654 Father Leonard Garreau courageously set forth from Montreal to accompany an Algonquin fleet to the western country; but only a short distance from the Ottawa River he fell into an Iroquois ambushade and was killed. His companion, Father Druilletes, was abandoned by the Indians above Montreal and was forced to work painfully his way back to the settle-

ments. Father Rene Menard, a refugee from the Huron mission, succeeded in 1660 in reaching the shores of Lake Superior, where, after wintering in a wretched hut at the end of Keweenaw Bay, he started in the early summer of 1661 to visit some refugee Hurons upon the headwaters of the Black River. Somewhere upon the Wisconsin River he was lost in the dense woods, and his fate was never known. By the middle of the seventeenth century very little had been accomplished in the western mission, which remained a virgin field awaiting its laborers. The earliest western missions were thus a direct outgrowth of the Huron disaster, and an attempt to conserve the remnants of that ruined mission.

To the Jesuits, a mission was the "substance of things hoped for," a desire or prophecy of what could be seen only by the eye of faith. If only one dying infant of a tribe was baptized, the first fruits of that mission were thought to be garnered for heaven. If any members of a tribe expressed a wish to hear the gospel message, thereafter the mission for that tribe was spoken of as commenced. For instance, the missionary residing at Chequamegon Bay, an arm of Lake Superior indenting the northern shore-line of Michigan, who had been visited by a few stragglers from the Sauk, Foxes and other northwestern tribes, describes as commenced the missions to these aborigines.⁴ Later, he writes of his mission of St. Marc in central Wisconsin after a three days' sojourn in the Outagami village.⁵ Thus any contact with a native tribe was considered the beginning of a mission, whether there had been an acceptance of the missionary's message, or any substantial plan for continued contact. Due to the lack of men and materials

4. Ibid., volume LI, pp.27-45.

5. Ibid., volume LIV, pp.225-227.

the work of the Jesuits in this vast and distant field of endeavor must look to the future.

And what of the savages among whom the Jesuits worked? The Algonquin family, with whom we are principally concerned in this paper, was once a great nation, and claimed all the upper regions of North America from Newfoundland to Georgian Bay, parts of New England, the strip of land bordering the Hudson River, New Jersey, parts of Virginia and North Carolina, Kentucky, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. The evident power of this people induced Champlain to form an alliance with them, and to join one of their war parties in 1609 against the Iroquois.

It is commonly asserted that the Algonquins were the noblest of the North American Indians, but for those who are familiar with their history it is hard to find any notable difference between them and their fellow savages. When Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence almost a hundred years before the arrival of the missionaries, he was shocked by the indecency of the Montagnais at Tadoussac. When Father LeJeune arrived in 1632 the savages invited him to see them eat their captives. One of the victims was a mere lad, whom they refused to sell to the horrified priest. Marquette found Indians at Green Bay too stupid to make a dish or to scoop out a ladle. Most of the Algonquins were shameless in their immorality, and were just as cruel as the Iroquois in their treatment of captives.

The life of the missionaries among the Indians was an heroic one. The long journeys demanded a devastating physical effort that left the traveller half-dead of exhaustion. The pangs of hunger and starvation were almost an every day experience. The missionaries frequently made their beds in the

snow drifts; their daily tramp was often waist-deep in icy water or in driving storms. When they were shivering behind the wretched bark shelters in the forests or on the slopes of mountains, it was only to exchange their sufferings outside with the torturing smoke of the fire and the inconceivable filth of the people who swarmed into their cabins with them. It was a life of horror. And yet the superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, Father Claude Dablon, himself once in the western missions, wrote to France: "Such in a few words, is what relates to the state of our Missions; apparently to be occupied in these is to become a saint, so apostolic are their occupations, and so extraordinary also the favors that God grants to laborers so courageous. The life that they lead is outwardly most wretched. Imagine what it is to be always with barbarians, whose numberless fits of anger one must endure; to be shut up most of the time in cabins where one's eyes are blinded by smoke; to be exposed to a thousand dangers, either from the waters, or from the barbarity or drunkenness of the savages; to lie on nothing, as it were, and toil without cessation. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the greatest displeasure that I could cause any one of them would be to recall him here, to live a little more comfortably."⁶

Into the foremost ranks of these laborers in the vineyard of the Master was to come Father Claude Jean Allouez, and of him we shall write.

6. Ibid., volume XIX, pp,81-83.

CHAPTER II

FATHER CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ, S.J.: BIRTH, PREPARATION FOR THE MISSIONS, AND LIFE IN THE EASTERN MISSIONS OF NEW FRANCE

Claude Jean Allouez was born at Saint Didier en Forest in the Haute Loire of France June 6, 1622.¹ His name appears in the "Jesuit Relations" with a dieresis over the "u", which would seem to imply that it was pronounced "Alloway;" for those not able to preserve the delicate balance of the French stress, the accent falls upon the last syllable. His early education was received at the College of Puy en Velay. Allouez began his fourth year of class when St. John Francis Regis came to the College of Puy to conduct a retreat for the students. Himself desirous to be sent to the foreign missions, but kept in France by the General of the Society of Jesus, Mutius Vitteltschi, to be the apostle of Velay, Vivarais and Cévennes, St. Francis exerted a great influence upon the young compatriot committed to his care. At the age of seventeen, September 25, 1639, Allouez entered the Jesuit novitiate at Toulouse.² His brother was also a Jesuit. After the customary two years of novitiate and the pronouncement of his first vows, the year 1641-1642 was spent in the study of the ancient classics at the

1. William Stetson Merrill in an article entitled "Claude Jean Allouez -- Jesuit Pioneer Missionary," in the Illinois Catholic Historical Review for July, 1922, vol. V, #1, p.61, presents a problem as to the exact date of Allouez's birth. In the Jesuit Relations, vol. XLIV, p.322, note 10, June 6, 1622, is given as the date of the Father's birth. This date has been accepted by the majority of historians.

2. Ibid., 61.

Jesuit juniorate in Toulouse; the years 1642-1645 in the study of philosophy at the Jesuit college in Billom; the years 1645-1649 in the teaching of "la grammaire," the year 1649-1650 "les humanités," and the year 1650-1651 "la rhétorique" at Billom; the years 1651-1655 in the study of theology at Toulouse, during which period he was ordained a priest; the year 1655-1656 in the further pursuit of ascetical studies at the Jesuit tertianship of Rhodéz. His training as a Jesuit completed after two years of novitiate and fourteen years of study, in 1656 Allouez was assigned to duty in the Jesuit church of Rhodéz, and during the next two years was the preacher for that parish.³

But his soul moved to a more heroic career, and Allouez sought permission from his superiors to work in the distant missions of New France. When he received the letter granting his request from Rochette, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Toulouse, on March 3, 1657, he wrote: "A cette nouvelle, je laissai la lettre du R.P. Provincial, et je me dis souvent à moy-mesme; c'est le Seigneur qui me fait une si grande grâce; j'en suis dans l'estonnement et l'admiration c'est ici un coup de sa droite qui m'a exalté par la plus sublime de toutes les vocations. Seigneur, je suis à vous: seconde-moy dans cette divine entreprise, afin que je me sauve et me sanctifie moy mesme en travaillant au salut et à la sanctification du prochain."⁴

3. "Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e Siècle" Camille de Rochemonteix, S.J., Paris, 1895, vol. II, p. 353, note 6.

4. Ibid., 354. "At this news I put down Reverend Father Provincial's letter, and often said to myself: it is the Lord Who has given me this great grace; I am filled with astonishment and admiration this is the work of His hand which has raised me to the most sublime of all vocations. My God, I belong to You: strengthen me in this divine work so that I might save myself, and sanctify me in striving for the salvation and the sanctification

That he was not led by any erroneous idea of the field which he solicited, we know from his own words. He sought only to labor and suffer; man cannot command results, nor will his reward depend upon them. "To convert our barbarians or savages, of Canada," says he, "we need work no miracle but that of doing them good and suffering without complaint, except to God, regarding ourselves as useless servants."⁵

When the fleet sailed from France in the spring of 1658 Allouez, accompanied by two Jesuit lay brothers, was among the passengers, saying farewell to France for the last time and turning to the mission field of the new world. Writing of that stormy crossing of the ocean, his fellow Jesuit, Dablon, Allouez's Superior in the Society of Jesus, in 1690 tells us, "le Père profita de ce retardement pour travailler avec fruit au salut des personnes qui couroient les mesmes dangers que luy."⁶ The Jesuits in their "Relations" record his arrival in Quebec on July 11, 1658, in this simple entry; "at two o'clock in the afternoon, the first ship anchored before Quebec, bringing us Monsieur d'Argenson, the Governor, Father Claude Allouez, and two of our brethren."⁷

Now that Allouez is on the threshold of his great missionary activity, it will be interesting to obtain some knowledge of his physical and mental

qualities. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation at this time writes of him: "À le 4. (continued from p.9) of my neighbor."

5. John Gilmary Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley: with the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay, New York, 1852, note at bottom of pages 67-70.
6. Pierre Margry, Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale 1614-1754, Paris, 1876, première partie, 59. "The Father made use of this delay to labor with profit for the salvation of the persons enduring the same dangers as he."
7. Jesuit Relations, vol. XLIV, p.101.

voir on dirait qu'il n'a ni force ni santé; et cependant il est infatigable; on ne peut rien voir de plus laborieux."⁸ Rochemonteix describes him: "d'une taille moyenne, solidement bâti comme les montagnards de son pays, dur tout a la besogne, habitué aux froides températures, d'une volonté ferme et persévérante prudent judicieux instruit, d'un caractère entreprenant calme à la surface, très chaud au fond, le P. Allouez semblait prédestiné aux missions de la Nouvelle France. Dans se papiers, il traçait ainsit le portrait du missionnaire canadien: 'Les religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus qui passent de l'ancienne France à la Nouvelle doivent y être appelés par une spéciale et forte vocation. Il faut qu'ils soient des gens morts au monde et à tout eux-mêmes, des hommes apostoliques et des saints qui ne cherchent que Dieu et le salut des âmes. Il faut qu'ils aiment d'amour la croix et la mortification, qu'ils ne s'épargnent point, qu'ils sachent supporter les travaux de la mer et de la terre, et qu'ils désirent plus la conversion d'un sauvage qu'un empire. Il faut qu'ils soient dans les forêts du Canada comme autant de précurseurs de Jésus-Christ, et que, dans des petit Jean-Baptiste, ils soient autant de voix de Dieu, lesquelles crient dans les déserts pour appeler les sauvages à la connaissance du Saviour. Enfin, il faut qu'ils aient mis tout leur appuy, tout leur contentement, tous leurs trésors en Dieu seul, à qui seul appartient de choisir ce qu'il veut pour le Canada.' En adressant ces lignes au Provincial de Paris, le P. d'Ablon

8. Rochemonteix, vol.III, p.536. "On seeing him one would say that he had neither strength nor health; and yet he is indefatigable; one can find none more industrious than he.

ajoutait: 'Voilà comment le P. Allouez, de sainte mémoire, s'est, sans y penser, dépeint luy-mesme par ses propres paroles, qu'il n'avait écrites que pour sa consolation particulière.'"⁹

Soon after his arrival in Quebec Allouez commenced a preparatory study of the Indian languages and dialects. Dablon comments on his studies: (La Providence), si elle ne luy a pas communiqué par infusion l'usage des langues comme aux Apostres au moins luy a-t-elle donné tant de talent et de facilité pour les apprendre au bout de deux ou trois mois au plus après qu'il estoit arrivé dans un pays, il entendoit les sauvages et les sauvages l'entendoient."¹⁰

Here, then is a Frenchman of the mountainous Loire country type, a man of middle stature, of vigorous frame, yet graceful deportment, a man who is inured to exposure and toil, as he is trained in the science of spiritual perfection; capable of living contented in the huts of barbarians as well as moving with due tact in the salons of refined French society. Such a man it is whom we presently see embarking on a project which, as Bancroft says, "has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West,"¹¹ and which made him the Apostle of the Upper Lake Indians.

9. Ibid., vol.II, pp.354-355. "Of middle height, sturdily built as are the mountaineers of his country, hardened for all tasks, accustomed to cold, of strong will and persevering wisdom carefully trained, of a character outwardly expressing calmness but very ardent within, Father Allouez seemed predestined for the missions of New France. In his papers he thus traced the portrait of a Canadian missionary: 'Religious of the Society of Jesus who come from France to the New World should be called thither by a special and strong vocation. They must be men dead to the world and to themselves, apostolic and holy men who seek only God and the salvation of souls. They must ardently love the cross and mortification, never spare themselves in anything, endure hardships on sea and on land, and desire more the conversion of one savage than an empire. In the forests of Canada they must be as so many precursors of Jesus Christ, and as that of John the Baptist their voices must be as so many voices of God calling the savages

During the next seven years Allouez was busy in the eastern settlements of the French and their Indian allies preparing for the more arduous work of the western frontier. In 1659 Allouez was at the Jesuit house in Quebec, where Lalemant was Rector and Ragueneau minister.¹² At this time he saw the departure of the ill-fated Garreau and Druilletes for Lake Superior. In 1660 Allouez was Superior at the Jesuit house of Three Rivers on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence River, approximately eighty miles from Quebec.

Bishop Francis de Laval appointed Allouez Vicar-General in the West on July 21, 1663, an appointment which was perhaps the first act in the ecclesiastical organization of the western country.¹³

During his stay at Three Rivers Allouez met the traders Radisson and Groseilliers and some of the seven traders of 1660-1663, and bade farewell to his confrère Ménard, all of whom were to perish in the unknown West.¹⁴

In the "Relations" for October, 1663, we have the following entry: "About this time, Father Fremin went up to the Cape to take charge of that post, and Father Allouez came here (i.e., Quebec)."¹⁵

9.(continued from p.12) from the desert to the knowledge of Christ. Indeed, they must place all their rest, all their hopes, all their treasures in God alone, Who alone has the right to choose whomsoever He wishes for Canada.' Upon sending these lines to the Provincial at Paris Father Dablon adds: 'Father Allouez, of holy memory, without thinking of it, here draws a picture of himself in his own words which he wrote only for his own particular consolation.'

10. Margry, 59. "If Divine Providence has not infused in him, as in the Apostles, the use of languages, at least it has given to him so much talent and aptitude to learn them, that at the end of two or three months at the most after his arrival in a country he understands the savages and the savages understand him."

11. George Bancroft, History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent, Boston, 1846, vol.III, p.151.

12. Rochemonteix, vol.II, p.345, note 1.

13. "Pioneer Priests of North America 1642-1710.", T.J. Campbell, S.J., vol. III, "Among the Algonquins", New York, 1916, p.147.

14. L.P. Kellogg, "French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest," p.152, note 24 states that "a manuscript in the Chicago Historical Society is a receipt by Madame Groseilliers for a sum of money lent her by Allouez."

15. Jesuit Relations, vol. XLVII, p.309.

Allouez was not to spend his days in the more secure and settled sections of eastern New France; his call was for the children of the western wilderness, and he but awaited an opportunity to answer. Learning in the year 1664 that a band of Ottawa from the far-distant Lake Superior region had come to Montreal to trade, he hurried down the river to the rendezvous in order to join them on their journey to their homes. He arrived in Montreal after the departure of the Indian ganoes for the West, and remained there during the winter of 1664-1665 until the thawing of the ice in the spring would again open the passage of the rivers and lakes to the dusky tribesmen of the forest.

During the autumn and winter months Allouez was busy in the exercise of his priestly functions in behalf of both the French and the Indians, in tending the sick and the dying, and in attentive association with the Indians who stealthily came from the dark forests into the stockade of Montreal. We have an intimate story of this period from one of his own writings in the "Jesuit Relations." An Iroquois prisoner, "the Sonnontoueh-ronnon, Sachiendouan by name," fell dangerously ill. He was a man of haughty disposition, irritated by the affront which he thought he had received, "an Iroquois who repaid only with disdain all the kindness that was shown him." Allouez, knowing a smattering of Huron, sought to instruct him in the Catholic religion. The first day passed in simple instruction. "I easily concluded that he had an aversion for the faith; and, in fact, on the following days, when I spoke to him about it, he became angry, hissed at me, and said things to me which I did not understand. Sometimes he would hide under the bed-cover in order not to hear me; and he even struck me a blow on the

head, to repulse me. If he had injured me, I would have deemed myself happy for it." Continuing his kind ministrations, Allouez prayed to St. Ignatius for assistance. "On the eve of the feast of Saint Ignatius, I felt strongly impelled to say mass for him, although I was bound by an urgent consideration to say it for a certain deceased person. The Hospital mothers also offered especial prayers for him. And so, on the morning of the Saint's day in whose honor I am about to relate this, I went to see my patient, as was my custom, and found him as gentle as a lamb.....On the evening of the same day, when I told him that I would come to teach him daily, he said in Huron, 'That is good. I thank you. That is good.' After I had taught him for some days, seeing that he was growing much weaker, we thought to baptize him; but we did not know how to broach the subject to him, for he still retained the old belief that baptism causes death.¹⁶

"We availed ourselves of an Onnontagehronnon Iroquois who had arrived here a few days before -- without doubt, under the special guidance of Providence, -- to persuade our patient to have himself baptized. This he accomplished by assuring him that prayer does not cause death, but that it even serves sometimes to give life. In consequence, the sick man began to ask me for baptism, and that so urgently that I began to make him perform acts of faith in the three divine personsBut fearing that he asked for baptism in order to prolong his life, according to the hope that the Onnontagehronnon seemed to have given him, I repeatedly assured him that baptism

16. Rev. Charles Verwyst, O.S.F., "Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Ménard and Allouez, in the Lake Superior Region.", p.36, note 3. "As the early Jesuit Fathers realized the absolute necessity of Baptism for salvation they most eagerly sought to confer that Sacrament upon the dying children of pagan parents. Seeing that their children generally died after Baptism, the natives in their ignorance and superstition attributed

would make him live forever in Heaven, where there would be no more suffering and death. All this I said in Huron, and the patient at the same time in his own savage tongue."¹⁷ Convinced now of the sincerity of the Iroquois and that his death was imminent, Allouez baptised him, giving him the name "Ignace."

16. (continued from p.15) their death to Baptism, which they regarded as an evil charm for the destruction of their offspring."

17. Jesuit Relations, vol. XLIX, pp.109-115. ♣

CHAPTER III

THE WESTERN MISSIONS

PART I. WISCONSIN

SECTION A. HEADQUARTERS AT MISSION DU SAINT ESPRIT ON CHEQUAMEGON BAY 1665-1669

Towards noon of July 20, 1665, there began to arrive at Three Rivers one hundred canoes of the "Angels of the Upper Algonquins,"¹ who on their homeward journey were to conduct Allouez to their country. The canoes were crowded with more than four hundred savages of no particular tribe, but an aggregation "of the various nations" who had fled westward from the blood-thirsty Iroquois.² The red men of the forests had heaped into their slight craft the winter's catch of furs, and brought them from distant Lake Superior to barter with the French at the trading-post. The braves told the men of the settlement who crowded about the canoes how the last line of barks defiling past the Cap de Massacre, a little above the Richelieu River, were met by the fire of the Iroquois lying in ambush on the thickly-timbered shore, and other thrilling tales of their escape from their sworn enemy.³ Within a few days the Indians had finished bartering for the simple articles attractive to their savage hearts, and prepared for their return to the West. With difficulty Allouez and six other Frenchmen, the latter in quest of furs, obtained an equivocal permission to accompany the flotilla on the return journey. On August 8, 1665, the long queue of canoes, in single file Indian fashion, slipped westward up the river, and disappeared around a bend.

1. Jesuit Relations, vol. XLIX, p.243.

2. Ibid., vol. L, p.249.

3. Ibid., vol. XLIX, pp.243-251. 17

Allouez wrote in the "Relations"⁴ a beautiful and informative account of that perilous journey of over 1,250 miles,⁵ which required over two months for completion.

Soon after leaving the protection of the French settlements, Allouez had cause to realize his precarious position in the manifested contempt of his Indian guides. "On the journey he could scarcely have met worse treatment at the hands of his conductors had he been their slave."⁶ One of the chiefs, "in arrogant and menacing terms," declared the Indians' intention of abandoning him at the first opportunity. A few days later the canoe in which the French were travelling was broken in the rapids of the Riviere des Prairies, (the Ottawa which flows behind Montreal Island.) The savages went on without them, being only too glad to be rid of the pale faces. Hastily repairing the broken canoe, the French paddled fiercely after the savages and overtook them at the sault on the Ottawa. The broken canoe and the exhaustion of the French caused Allouez to summon the Indians in council and plead for their assistance. The French traders were divided among the canoes, and Allouez was also promised a place -- "but with much reluctance" -- by the group of Hurons. The next morning the Indians asked Allouez to wait on shore until they had embarked; the canoe slipped through the water and Allouez hurried to the water edge. He was driven off by the savages, and "left all alone with no prospect of human succor." This canoe was later

4. Jesuit Relations, vol. L, pp.249-277.

5. Richard R. Elliott, "Jesuit Missionaries Who Labored in the Lake Superior Region during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." in The Historical Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 1904, vol. XXXIII, pp.228-229.

6. P.F.X. de Charlevoix, S.J., "History and General Description of New France," New York, 1902, vol.III, p.100.

wrecked, and divine Providence turned Allouez's abandonment on the part of the savages to the saving of his life.

While kneeling in prayer for help to the Mother of God, Allouez saw a small band of canoes, in which were three of the French traders, coming up the river. He ran to the river's bank and hailed the party, and was taken into one of the canoes. This small band had lost its way, and was seeking a narrow detour that led to the portage of the Cat rapids.⁷ The party blindly paddling ahead and without realizing their good fortune, which Allouez maintained was obtained through the intercession of the Mother of God, was guided directly to the portage. Seeing here the canoes of the savages who that morning had abandoned him on that desolate shore, Allouez, casting aside his previous humble mien, leaped into the water, gained the shore, and hastened to intercept the savages by land on the other side of the portage. "How is this?" Allouez sternly asked, "do you thus forsake the French? Know you not that I hold Onnontio's (Governor de Tracy's) voice in my hands, and that I am to speak for him through the presents he entrusted to me to all your nations?"⁸ These words frightened the savages into giving the French aid; all the canoes joined the bulk of the fleet towards noon of that same day.

Allouez threatened the savages with the displeasure of Monsieur de Tracy, to be met by a harangue of the chiefs in which they sought to persuade the French to turn back. The fur-traders again found places for themselves without much difficulty, but no one would be burdened with Allouez, all

7. L. Kellogg, "Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699" New York, 1917, p.100, note 1: "Cat Rapids, now called Les Chats, lies at the head of the widening of the Ottawa known at Lake des Chaudières, not far above the city of Ottawa."

8. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.253.

declaring that he had "neither skill at the paddle, nor strength to carry loads on his shoulders." Again Allouez withdrew into the woods and prayed; returning to the water's edge he later wrote that he "found the disposition of that savage who had repulsed him with such contempt entirely changed; for, unsolicited, he invited me to enter his canoe, which I did with much alacrity, fearing he would change his mind. No sooner had I embarked, than the savage put a paddle in my hand, urging me to use it, and assuring me it was an honorable employment." Allouez writes that his application of the paddle "did not prevent my being commonly the object of their contempt and the butt of their jokes; for, however much I exerted myself, I accomplished nothing in comparison with them, their bodies being large and strong, and perfectly adapted to such labors. The slight esteem in which they held me caused them to steal from me every article of my wardrobe that they could; and I had much difficulty in retaining my hat, the wide rim of which seemed to them peculiarly fitted for defense against the excessive heat of the sun. And when evening came, as my pilot took away a bit of blanket that I had, to serve him as a pillow, he forced me to pass the night without any covering but the foliage of some tree We were forced to accustom ourselves to eat a certain moss growing upon the rocks. It is a sort of shell-shaped leaf which is always covered with caterpillars and spiders; and which, on being boiled, furnishes an insipid soup, black and viscous, that rather serves to ward off death than to impart life. One morning, we found a stag that had been dead four or five days. It was a lucky accident for poor starvelings. I was given a piece of it, and although its offensive odor deterred some from eating any, hunger made me take my share; but my mouth

had a putrid taste, in consequence, until the next day."⁹

Allouez sought to do his share in carrying the baggage over the portages. We find this entry in his journal: "I often succumbed under them, and that made our savages laugh and mock me, saying they must call a child to carry me and my burden. Our good God did not forsake me utterly on these occasions, but often wrought on some of the men so that, touched with compassion, they would, without saying anything, relieve me of my chapel or of some other burden We endured these hardships for nearly two weeks; and after passing the Nipissirinien Lake, as we were descending a little river, (Lake Nipissing and the French River), we heard cries of lamentation and death-songs. Approaching the spot whence came these outcries, we saw eight young savages of the Outaouacs (Ottawas), frightfully burned by a direful accident, a spark having by inadvertence fallen into a keg of powder. Four among them were completely scorched, and in danger of dying. I comforted them and prepared them for baptism, which I would have conferred had I had time to see them sufficiently fitted for it; for, despite this disaster, we had to keep on our way, in order to reach the entrance to the Lake of the Hurons, which was the rendezvous of all these travelers."¹⁰

On the 24th of August about one hundred canoes had arrived at the rendezvous, where the jugglers and medicine-men by their superstitious rites sought to heal the burned braves. Allouez wavered between interfering or withdrawing from these scenes. He sums up his own disposition at this time:

"The completion of my journey depended upon them; if I incensed them, the

9. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.257.

10. Ibid., vol.L, p.259.

the devil would make use of their anger in closing against me the door to their country....Besides, I had already perceived how little weight my words had with them, and knew that I would turn them still more against me by opposing them."¹¹ Convinced that he should attack such idolatries, Allouez went forward, and succeeded in winning over one of the burned men so that the young Indian refused any further ceremonies on the part of the jugglers. This aroused the jugglers: one came howling about Allouez's "cabin like a desperate man, and seemed bent on venting his rage upon the French." The savage worked off his spleen by hacking into pieces the canoe of the French. Allouez continued to minister to the injured Indians.

The band coasted along the shore of the Lake of the Hurons, paddled up the rapids of the beautiful Sault (i.e., St. Marie's) and on the second of September entered Lake Superior to which Allouez gave the name of de Tracy in honor of the governor of New France. Allouez describes this body of water: "The form of this lake is nearly that of a bow, the southern shore being much curved, and the northern nearly straight. Fish are abundant there, and of excellent quality; while the water is so clear and pure that objects at the bottom can be seen to the depth of six brasses, (linear measure of 5.318 English feet.) The savages revere this Lake as a divinity, and offer it sacrifices....One often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper....I have several times seen such pieces in the savages' hands; and, since they are superstitious, they keep them as so many divinities, or as presents which the gods dwelling beneath the water have given them, and on which their welfare is to depend.....

11. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.261.

For some time, there had been seen a sort of great rock, all of copper, the point of which projected from the water."¹² Thus Allouez gave to the world the first news of the "copper rock of Lake Superior," as it came to be known, a mass of ore estimated to weigh 6,000 or 7,000 pounds and of ninety-five per cent purity, which is now in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.¹³

Twelve or fifteen distinct nations resorted to the lake, partly to obtain food by fishing and partly to transact their petty trading. This enabled Allouez to reach many distant tribes with whom he made some contact through these wanderers.

During all of September the party coasted along the southern shore of Lake Superior, the forest-clad shore of which was aflame with the gold and scarlet of the leaves of autumn. Near the water's edge was built a crude altar on which Allouez, for the first time since leaving Three Rivers, had the consolation of saying Mass. He writes in his "Relation": "After I had consecrated these forests by this holy ceremony, God led me to the water-side, and to crown my joy, made me chance upon two sick children, who were being placed in canoes for a journey into the interior. I felt strongly inspired to baptize them, and, after all necessary precautions, did so in view of the danger to which I saw them exposed, of dying during the winter. All my past fatigues were as nothing to me thenceforth."¹⁴

The party crossed the Bay of St. Theresa where Ménard had wintered.

Here Allouez found "some remains of his (Ménard's) labors, in the persons of

12. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, pp.265-267.

13. Ibid., vol.L, p.327, note 28 by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

14. Ibid., vol.L, pp.267-269.

two christian women who had always kept the faith, and who shone like two stars amid the darkness of that infidelity."¹⁵

The evil spirit was aroused at Allouez's success, and "did what he could to prevent (his) coming up hither;" "he vented his spite" on Allouez's medicine-chest, in which were stored some writings containing instructions for the savages. This chest "was wrecked in the eddies of some rapids; again it was left behind at the foot of a portage; it changed hands seven or eight times; and, finally, it fell into those of that sorcerer whom I (Allouez) had censured at the entrance to the Lake of the Hurons, and who, after removing the lock, took what he chose, and then left it all open to the rain and exposed to passers-by."¹⁶ But "the greatest juggler of these regions -- a man of six wives and of a dissolute life" -- preserved it and, desiring the protection of the manitous contained in the chest, gave it to Allouez. These writings Allouez affirmed were of good service in converting the people. A book is mentioned by John G. Shea as "still preserved in Canada, containing prayers in Illinois and French, which contains an ancient note stating that it was prepared by Father Allouez for the use of Father Marquette."¹⁷

Westward paddled the band until, on the first day of October it reached Chagouamigong (Chequamegon) Bay, which Allouez describes as "a beautiful bay, at the head of which is situated the great village of the savages, who

15. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.269.

16. Ibid., vol.L, pp.269-271.

17. Ibid., vol.L, p.273.

there cultivate fields of Indian corn and lead a settled life. They number eight hundred men bearing arms, but are gathered together from seven different nations, living in peace, mingled one with another."¹⁸

The large number of heathens living here or coming and going on affairs of the tribes led Allouez to establish his first mission headquarters at this place. He immediately built a crude chapel in which to carry out the rites of the Catholic religion and to instruct the savages. His first shelter was made of bark. Here he was so frequently visited by the Indians, most of whom had never seen any European, that the good Father was overwhelmed. Since his efforts to instruct the savages went to naught because of the excitement and bustle occasioned by the coming and going of the people, Allouez decided to go in person to visit the Indians, each in his cabin.

During this time a young man, one of the savages who had been burned on the homeward journey, came to see Allouez, and addressed him: "I had no sooner obeyed thee by sending away that sorcerer who was bent on curing me with his jugglery, than I saw the creator of all things, of whom thou hast so often told me. He said to me in a voice which I heard distinctly: 'Thou shalt not die, for thou didst listen to the black gown.' He had no sooner spoken that I felt singularly strengthened, and found myself filled with a great confidence that I should regain my health, -- as, indeed, here I am, perfectly cured."¹⁹

The baptism of several infants was the first fruit garnered by Allouez at Chequamegon. Exemplifying the growing influence of Allouez among the

18. John Gilmary Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the United States, Colonial Days 1521-1763, vol.I (New York, 1886), p.273, footnote.

19. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.275.

Indians is the story told of an Ottawa warrior who came to the Father shortly after the birth of his child, and insisted that the priest baptize the infant at once, in order to insure it a long life. When we consider that a short time previously this savage believed that baptism caused the death of children, we realize the change brought about by the missionary.

Allouez found the Indians living at Chequamegon busy in preparation for war against the Nadouessi (Sioux.) He was invited to the council held by the elders of the village, in which the plans for the war-party were discussed. Allouez addressed the assembly in the name of Governor de Tracy, presenting a present at the end of each of the three clauses of his speech. "My brothers," said he to them, 'the motive that brings me to your country is very important, and makes it fitting that you should listen to my words with more than usual attention. Nothing less is concerned than the preservation of your entire land, and the destruction of all your enemies.' As the Father found them all, at these words, well disposed to listen to him attentively, he told them about the war that Monsieur de Tracy was undertaking against the Iroquois, -- how, by means of the King's arms, he was about to compel them to assume a respectful demeanor, and was going to make commerce safe between us (the French) and the Algonquin peoples, cleansing all the highways from those river pirates, and forcing them to observe a general peace or see themselves totally destroyed. And here the Father took occasion to expatiate upon the piety of his Majesty, who wished God to be acknowledged throughout all his domains.....He next explained to them the chief articles of our faith."²⁰ Allouez does not tell us in his journal what

the results of this council were.

Allouez has been highly praised, and rightly so, for his keen observation of the Indians among whom he lived on Lake Superior. He compares the false and abominable religion of the savages to ancient forms of paganism. The savages of these regions recognized no sovereign master of Heaven and earth, but believed there were many spirits -- some of whom are beneficent, as the sun, the moon, the lake, rivers, and woods; others malevolent, as the adder, the dragon, cold, and storms. In general, whatever seemed to them either helpful or hurtful they called a manitou, and worshipped and venerated it as a god.

One of the leading old men of the village discharged the function of priest. When the eat-all feast was held in honor of the sun, the old priest began the ceremonies with a loud-voiced harangue in honor of that spirit. During this invocation, all the guests gorged themselves, even to the last morsel; after which a man appointed for the purpose took a cake of tobacco, broke it in two, and threw it into the fire. Every one present cried aloud while the tobacco burned and the smoke rose aloft; and with these outcries the whole sacrifice came to an end.

Grotesque idols were set up in the center of the wigwams, surrounded by the strange gifts of the devotees and public veneration was offered to them. Allouez records that once he saw a village sacrifice ten dogs to one of these painted idols in supplication for protection against the pestilence that was depopulating the village. Besides these public sacrifices, the Indians sought to appease the manitous privately and in their family circle. A favored custom in the cabins was to throw tobacco into the fire, with a

kind of outward offering which they made to their false gods.

During storms and tempests, they sacrificed a dog, throwing it into the lake. "That is to appease thee," they would say to the latter, "keep quiet." Also at perilous places in the rivers, they propitiated the eddies and rapids by offering them presents. So persuaded were the Indians of the value of these sacrifices, that after their conversion and baptism the Christian Indians continued to observe the same ceremonies toward the true God, until they were disabused.

In Allouez's journal we find this entry: "As, moreover, these people are of gross nature, they recognize no purely spiritual divinity, believing that the sun is a man, and the moon his wife; that snow and ice are also a man, who goes away in the spring and comes back in the winter that the crow, the kite, and some other birds are genii, and speak just as we do; and that there are even people among them who understand the language of birds "They believe, moreover, that the souls of the departed govern the fishes in the lake; and thus, from the earliest times, they have held the immortality, and even the metempsychosis, of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore they never throw their bones into the fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets.

"The fountain-head of their religion is libertinism; and all the various sacrifices end ordinarily in debauches, indecent dances, and shameful acts of concubinage. All the devotion of the men is directed toward securing many wives, and changing them whenever they choose; that of the women, toward leaving their husbands; and that of the girls, toward a life

of profligacy."²¹

The savages endured a great deal on account of these ridiculous deities. They frequently would fast in order to learn the issue of some affairs. Allouez states that he saw men, who had planned some hunting trip or war party, pass a whole week, taking scarcely anything. With dogged fixity they maintained their fast, until the weakened mind had seen in a dream what they desired, -- either a herd of moose, or a band of Iroquois put to flight, or something similar.

The Indians believed that illness was due to their failure to give sufficient feasts to the sun, which, on this account, became angry at the brave, or to the entrance of a wicked spirit into the aching member. The juggler was summoned, came with a few old men, and held a consultation on the patient's illness. Then the medicine man fell upon the diseased part, applied his mouth to it, and, by sucking, pretended to extract something from it, perhaps a little stone, or a bit of string, which he had concealed in his mouth beforehand, and which he displayed with pride saying: "There is the manitou; now thou art cured, and it only remains to give a feast." Another remedy consisted in grasping the patient under the arms, and making him walk barefoot over the live embers in the cabin; or, if he is so ill that he cannot walk, he is carried by four or five persons, and made to pass slowly over all the fires."²²

We have the following description of the Mission of Saint Esprit on Chequamegon Bay: "This part of the lake where we have halted is between two large villages, and forms a sort of center for all the nations of these

21. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, pp.285-291.

22. Ibid., vol.L, p.293.

regions, because of its abundance of fish....

"God had graciously permitted me to be heard by more than ten different nations; but I confess that it is necessary, even before daybreak, to entreat Him to grant patience for the cheerful endurance of contempt, mockery, importunity, and insolence from these barbarians.....

"I have hung up in the chapel various pictures, as of hell and of the universal judgment, which furnish me themes for instruction well adapted to my hearers; nor do I find it difficult then to engage their attention, to make them chant the Pater and Ave in their own tongue, and to induce them to join in the prayers."²³

We can obtain a better idea of the obstacles which the languages of the savages offered to the zeal of Allouez, if we see the Pater as translated into these tongues. In the Ottawa tongue it reads: "Nossina wakwing eblian apegich kitchitwawendaming kid anosowin. Apegich bidagwichinomagak kid agima wiwin. Enendaman apegich ijiwebac, tibichko wakwing, mi go gaie aking. Mijichaning nongo agijigak nin pakweji ganimina wa-iji-aioiang memechigo gijig. Bonigidetawichinang gaie ga-iji-nichkiinangi eji bonigi detawangidwa ga-iji-nichkiiamindjig. Kego gaie ijiwijichikange gagwedibeningewining. Atchitchaii dach ininamawichinang maianadak. Apeingi."²⁴

In Pottawattomie it reads: "Nosinan wakwik eibyin ape kitchitwa kitchilwa wenitamag kitinosowin, enakosiyin ape piyak kitewetako tipu wakwig, ape tepwetakon chote kig. Ngom ekijikiwog mi chinag mamitchiyak ponigeled-woiket woye kego kachi kichiimidgin, kinamochinag wapatadiyak chitchiikwan nenimochinag meyanek waotichkakoyakin. Ape iw nomkiug."²⁵

23. Jesuit Relations, vol.I, pp.297-299.

24. John G. Shea, History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States 1529-1854, New York, 1857, p.3591 25. Ibid., p.363,

Allouez wrote of his labors: "God blesses these beginnings; For the young people's debauches are no longer so frequent; and the girls, who formerly did not blush at the most shameless acts, hold themselves in restraint, and maintain the modesty so becoming to their sex.

I know many who boldly meet the overtures made to them, with the reply that they have learned to pray and that the black gown forbids them such acts of licentiousness."²⁶

On the first days of 1666 Allouez baptized a number of children brought to him by their mothers, and presented by him in turn as a gift to the "Little Jesus." He writes: "As for the adults, I did not see fit to baptize many, because their superstitions, being so firmly rooted in their minds, offer a serious hindrance to their conversion."²⁷

Encouraged by his success, Allouez deemed the time had come to transfer his chapel to the midst of the great village which lay three-quarters of a league away, and embraced over forty-five or fifty large cabins of all nations containing fully two thousand souls. In his description of no other Indian village does Allouez employ terms so expressive of abhorrence as he does in describing the moral condition of this group of savages at Chequamegon: "It was just at the time of their great revels; and I can say, in general, that I saw in that Babylon a perfect picture of libertinism. I did not fail to carry on there the same pursuits as in our first abode."²⁸ The jugglers opposed Allouez, and in particular carried out their grotesque rites daily, very near the chapel, for the cure of a sick

woman. "It was nothing but superstitious dances, hideous masquerades,

26. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.23.

27. Ibid., vol.L, p.299.

28. Ibid., vol.L, p.301.

horrible yells, and apish tricks of a thousand kinds. Yet I did not fail to visit her daily; and, in order to win her with kindness, I made her a present of some raisins. At length, -- the sorcerers having declared that her soul had departed, and that they gave up hope, I went to see her on the morrow, and assured her that this was false; and even hoped for her recovery, if she would believe in Jesus Christ. But I could produce no effect on her mind, and that made me determine to appeal to the very sorcerer who was attending her. He was so surprised to see me at this house that he seemed quite overcome. I showed him the folly of his art, and that he was hastening the death of his patients rather than their recover. In reply, he threatened to make me feel the effects by a death that should be beyond dispute; and beginning his operations soon after, he continued them for three hours, calling out from time to time, in the midst of his ceremonies, that the black gown would die through them."

On the day after his visit to this juggler, Allouez went to the abode of another famous sorcerer, "the man with six wives," in whose cabin the missionary found a "little army of children." All of Allouez's arguments were in vain; the inmates of the cabin scoffed at and insultingly treated him. "The insults offered me in this cabin soon became known outside, and caused the others to treat me with the same insolence. Already a part of the bark -- that is, of the walls -- of our church had been broken; already a beginning had been made in stealing from me all my possessions; the young people were becoming more and more numerous and insolent; and the word of God was listened to only with scorn and mockery. I was therefore compelled

to abandon this post, and withdraw again to our customary abode."²⁹

Allouez had the consolation of knowing that Jesus Christ had been preached publicly and privately to each savage: often at night, when all was quiet, Allouez overheard the Indians in groups about the fires repeating and pondering the instructions of the day. The Indians freely acknowledged that what Allouez taught them was reasonable: "But license prevailed over reason." One of the braves, being questioned as to having two wives, replied: "My brother, thou speakest to me on a very delicate subject; it is enough for my children to pray; teach them."³⁰

Among the Indians at Chequamegon there was a village of Tionnontatcheronons (Tionontates, Hurons of the Petun tribe,) who in the East had had the martyr Garnier as their missionary and had fled westward to escape the Iroquois. Formerly they had constituted a part of the flourishing missions of the Hurons, but receiving no priest and living amidst infidels for many years, they were Christians rather by name than profession. Allouez applied himself to this mission with greater assiduity than the other more distant ones. During the first winter Allouez baptized a hundred children and many more during the following years of contact with this tribe. He administered the sacrament of penance to the adults, offered the holy sacrifice of the Mass in their midst, and prayed in public and in private with them. Because these Hurons had been well taught by his brother missionary in the East, Allouez had great success in preaching and administering to them.

29. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, 301-305.

30. Ibid., vol.L, p.305.

There has been a discussion as to the precise location of the scenes we have just described. We quote from Father Verwyst, O.S.F.: "To locate still more precisely the exact site of his chapel, he (Allouez) remarks, speaking of the three Ottawa clans: 'I joined these tribes because they had one and the same language, which is the Algonquin, and compose one and the same village which is opposite that of the Tionnontatcherons, between which villages we reside.' But where was that Ottawa village? A casual remark of Allouez, when speaking of the copper mines of Lake Superior will help us to locate it. 'It is true,' says he, 'on the mainland at the place where the Outaouacs raise Indian corn, about half a league from the edge of the water, the women have sometimes found pieces of copper scattered here and there, weighing 10, 20, or 30 pounds. It is when digging into the sand to conceal their corn that they make these discoveries.' Allouez evidently means Fish Creek. About a mile or so from the shore of the bay, going up this creek, can be seen traces of an ancient clearing on the left-hand side where Metabikitigweiag Creek empties into Fish Creek, about half-way between Ashland and Ashland Junction. The writer examined the locality about ten years ago. This then is the place where the Ottawas raised Indian corn and had their village. In Charlevoix' "History of New France," the same place is marked as the site of an ancient large village. The Ottawa village on Fish Creek appears to have been the larger of the two at the head of Chequamegon Bay, and it was there Allouez resided for a time, until he was obliged to return to his ordinary dwelling place, 'three-fourths of a league distant.' This shows that the ordinary abode of Father Allouez, was some-

where near Whittlessey's Creek or Shore's Landing."³¹

We have the authority of Reuben Gold Thwaites: "Verwyst, whose local knowledge is thorough and I have followed him in this regard There has always been some confusion as to what particular topographical feature gave name to the region. In christening his Mission "La Pointe," Allouez had reference not to the particular plot of ground on which his chapel lay, but to the neighboring sandy point of Shagawaumikong, hemming in the bay on the east, in which he must have had a poetic interest for the big battle fought there."³²

Many Indians came to Lake Superior to obtain fish for their winter's supply of food. Allouez was thus able to contact tribes whose homes were at a distance. There were families of Outaounacs, (Ottawas), Kiskakoumac, (Kiskakons), and Outaouasinegouc, (Sinagos), in permanent residence at Chequamegon; all of whom received Allouez's attention and care. The Pouteouatami, (Pottawattomies) came from the Lake of the Ilimouek (Illinois) during that first autumn. "These people are warlike Their country is excellently adapted to raising Indian corn ... They are extremely idolatrousOf all the people with whom I have mingled in these regions, they are the most docile....They observe among themselves a certain sort of civility and also show it toward strangers."³³ On one occasion when a certain chief

31. Chrysostom Verwyst, O.S.F., Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay, pp.439-440, in Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1895, vol.XIII.

32. Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Story of Chequamegon Bay, in Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1895, vol.XIII, pp.404,405, note 2.

33. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, pp.27.

had asked for the French-made shoes Allouez was wearing to examine them more freely, the Indian kneeling replaced them on Allouez's feet. In response to the Jesuits remonstrance the Indian said: "It is in this way that we treat those whom we honor."³⁴

"On another occasion when I went to see him, he arose from his seat to yield it to me, with the same formalities that politeness demands of gentlefolk."³⁵

Among the notable conversions of this tribe was that of a man over one hundred years old, regarded as a divinity related to the snow and the hare. During the carnival that winter this neophyte asked for a piece of blue cloth because it was the color of heaven to which he would keep his heart and thoughts directed. Allouez baptized seventeen infants and several adults of the Pottawattomie; among these was a young man in whose canoe Allouez had a place on the journey to this country. On leaving for their homes, the Pottawattomie earnestly asked Allouez to come with them.

There came to Chequamegon Ousakiouek (Sauk or Sacs), savage and nomadic, of whom Allouez baptized eighteen children.³⁶ Thither also came Ontagamionek (outagami or Foxes), cruel and idolatrous, killing any stranger met alone in the forest, especially the French "for they cannot endure the beards of the latter."³⁷ Allouez baptized five of their children.

The Ilimouec (Illinois), who were skilled in the "dance of the tobacco-pipe" and believed in one supreme God Whom they passionately longed to

34. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.29.

35. Ibid., vol.LI, p.29.

36. Ibid., vol.LI, p.45.

37. Ibid., vol.LI, pp.43-45.

behold in dreams, appealed most to Allouez,³⁸ who was the first white man to meet the Illinois. Eighty people of this nation came to Chequamegon; yet the savages so published Allouez's instructions in their home country that the Father wrote: "This mission is one where I have labored the least and accomplished the most I confess that the fairest field for the Gospel appears to be yonder. Had I had leisure and opportunity, I would have pushed on to their country I find all those with whom I have mingled affable and humane; and it is said that whenever they meet a stranger, they give a cry of joy, caress him, and show him every possible evidence of affection."³⁹

The Nadouesiouek (Sioux) came from the West and told Allouez of la grande riviere nommee Messipi. This is the earliest notice by name of the river. These Indians were wild, "appearing abashed and as motionless as statues in our presence."⁴⁰ Their language was foreign, and Allouez depended on an infidel as interpreter; he accomplished little with them, baptizing one child.

Here also were Kilistinouc (Cree) from distant Hudson Bay. They told Allouez of Europeans who had come to their coasts in boats, built houses of wood, and read from books. They appeared extremely docile, "and showed a kindness uncommon" among the Indians.⁴¹ They were very attentive to Allouez, and invited him to come with them to their home. Because of their vagrant life, Allouez baptized only one child.

38. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, pp.47-51.

39. Ibid., vol.LI, p.51.

40. Ibid., vol.LI, pp.53-55.

41. Ibid., vol.LI, pp.57-59.

The Outchiboueco (Chippewa) came from the sault between Lakes Superior and Huron.⁴² Twenty children and one man of this nation were baptized by Allouez.

Hearing that the Nipissiriniens, who formerly in the East had been evangelized by the Jesuits, and who had fled to Lake Alimibegong (Nipigon) from the Iroquois, were twenty years without a priest, Allouez undertook a journey northward in order to minister to their spiritual needs.⁴³ He left Chequamegon May 6, 1667, with two Indians as guides. On the way he met and preached to sixty Indians from the North Bay. On the 17th of May the three men in their light birch-bark canoe crossed Lake Superior "paddling for twelve hours without dropping the paddle from the hand."⁴⁴ We have this account in the Father's journal: "As there were but three of us in our canoe, I was obliged to paddle with all my strength, together with the savages, in order to make the most of the calm Nevertheless, we lay down supperless at nightfall, and on the morrow contented ourselves with a frugal meal of Indian corn and water; for the wind and rain prevented our savages from casting their net....."⁴⁵ On the 19th of May a distance of eighteen leagues (about forty miles) was covered. "On the twentieth, finding nothing in our nets, we continued our journey, munching some grains of dry corn. On the following day, God refreshed us with two small fishes, which

42. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.61.

43. Ibid., vol.LI, p.63.

44. Chrysostom Verwyst, O.S.F., Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez in the Lake Superior Region, p.71, note 1. Probably starting from Sand Island, about 40 miles wide where they crossed.

45. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.63-65.

gave us new life. Heaven's blessings increased on the next day, our savages catching so many sturgeon that they were obliged to leave part of them at the water's edge."⁴⁶

The river connecting Lake Nipigon with Lake Superior was so full of rapids and flood-waters after the spring thaws that, finally, even the Indians, (those tried athletes of the forest) were exhausted and required a two days rest. Six more days were needed before they reached the village of the Nipissiriniens on the third of June. Allouez found twenty persons who made public profession of Christianity. Allouez tells a thrilling story about two of the christian women, mother and daughter: "They had been captured by the Iroquois, and had happily escaped from the fires and cruelties of those barbarians; but had soon afterward fallen a second time into their clutches, and were, consequently, left with no hope of escape. Yet one day, when they found themselves alone with a single Iroquois, who had remained behind to guard them while the rest went out to hunt, the girl told her mother that the time had come to rid themselves of this guard, and flee. To this end she asked the Iroquois for a knife to use on a beaver-skin that she was ordered to dress; and at the same time, imploring Heaven's aid, she plunged it into his bosom. The mother, on her part, arose and struck him on the head with a billet of wood, and they left him for dead. Taking some food, they started forth with all haste, and at length reached their own country in safety."⁴⁷ After two weeks spent among the Nipissiriniens Allouez returned to Chequamegon. This journey was nearly 500 leagues (1200 miles) in length, "going and coming, including the detours."

46. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.65.

47. Ibid., vol.LI, p.67.

For two years Allouez "had been ranging with the Algonquins vast forests"⁴⁸ over a thousand miles from Quebec, where his confreres had received no word from him and thought him dead. During this time had baptized 340 persons.⁴⁹ "The Father has learned by experience that, the fatigues being great, the labors unremitting, and the food very scanty, even a body of bronze cannot withstand all this; and that it is therefore necessary to have on the spot some men of courage and piety to work for the missionaries' maintenance, either by tilling the soil or by skill in fishing or hunting. They should also erect buildings for lodging, and chapels."⁵⁰ We may add that, above all, Allouez desired a missionary companion to share his joys and sorrows.

"To this end, the Father determined to come to Quebec in person, and exert himself for the realization of these plans.

He arrived here on the third day of August of this year, 1667; and, after a stay of two days only, he was ready, so diligent had he been, to start from Montreal with a score of canoes of the savages, -- with whom he had made the descent, and who were awaiting him on that island with great impatience.

His party consisted of seven persons -- Father Louis Nicolas and himself, to labor in unison for the conversion of those people; and one of our brethren, with four men (donnes) to be employed at the scene of action for their maintenance when it came to embarking, the savages were found to be in such ill humor that only the Fathers, with one of their men, were given places in the canoes. They were, too, so poorly provided with food, clothes,

48. Jesuit Relations, vol.L, p.117.

49. Ibid, vol.L, p.213.

50. Ibid.. vol.LI, p.71.

and all the other necessities of life which they had prepared, and which could not find conveyance, that there is reasonable doubt whether they can reach the country."⁵¹

"The brother, who had embarked in a canoe belonging to some savages of another tribe, was compelled to return after two days absence...one of the Fathers was compelled to embark without any provisions, even without altar-bread and without wine wherewith to say mass; while the other had only enough provisions for eight days, although the journey is one of 500 leagues."⁵²

Allouez has left us no account of this second journey to Lake Superior, but from such an inauspicious beginning we can estimate the trials and sufferings with which it was completed. Allouez and Nicolet established themselves at the Mission du Saint Esprit, whence they went forth to the Indian villages of the surrounding country. We learn of their life during the next two years from the "Relations": "We have to do with twenty or thirty nations, all different in language, customs and policy. We have to bear everything from their bad humor and their brutality, in order to win them by gentleness and affection. One must make himself, in some sort, a savage with these savages, and lead a savage's life with them; and live sometimes on a moss that grows on the rocks, sometimes on pounded fish-bones, -- a substitute for flour, -- and sometimes on nothing, -- passing three or four days without eating, as they do, whose stomachs are inured to these hardships. But they also eat without inconvenience, in a single day, enough

51. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, pp.71-73.

52. Ibid., vol.L, p.177.

for a week, when they have an abundance of game or of fish....it can be said that they (the Fathers) lead a life more austere than that of the greatest penitents of the Thebaid."⁵³

Their labors often were blessed in an extraordinary way. The story is told of "the most important man of these tribes" and his conversion. "He never had any fixed residence, but, leading a wandering life in these great woods, he roamed now in one direction, now in another, over five or six hundred leagues of territory."⁵⁴ Having a presentiment that his death was nigh, this man came to winter near the cabin of Allouez. After preparing "his farewell feast for a great assembly which was convoked for this purpose from different nations," the neophyte spoke with striking effect in behalf of the christian religion and the missionaries; after which he confessed as many as four times.

One of the braves, while fleeing before the Iroquois, was forced to spend thirty days on a floating cake of ice in Lake Huron. In thanksgiving, for the preservation of his life, this Indian eagerly embraced the Faith.

Among the Indians met by Allouez were the Queues Coupées (Kiskakon clan of the Ottawas), one of the most populous and peaceful, "and so addicted to raillery that it had up to that time made child's play of our Faith."⁵⁵ Allouez spent the winter of 1668-1669 with them at the Mission du Saint Esprit. In the beginning of the season Allouez was called to their council, and "told them that at length I felt myself obliged to leave them, in order to go to the sault, because, after my three years among them, they

53. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, pp.259-265.

54. Ibid., vol.LI, p.261.

55. Ibid., vol.LII, pp.205.

were unwilling to embrace our holy Faith, -- there being only children, and some women who prayed to God. I added that I should leave that place immediately, and that I was going to shake the dust from my shoes; indeed, I took my shoes off in their presence, in proof that I was leaving them altogether, and did not wish to take anything from them away with me, not even the dust that clung to my shoes. I informed them that the savages of the sault, wishing to become Christians, had called me, and that I would go to them and instruct them; but that if, after some years, they did not become Christians, I would do the same thing to those of the sault that I was doing to these now.

During all this address I read, on their faces, the fear that I had inspired in their hearts; leaving them to deliberate, I immediately withdrew, with the intention of going away to the sault. But an accident having detained me, by a special providence of God, I was soon to witness a change on their part that can only be attributed to an extraordinary stroke of grace."⁵⁶ The Kiskakons resolved in council to accept the Faith, and sent a delegation to Allouez to announce their decision. "In a word, they showed a fervor like that of the Christians of the primitive church, and a very great assiduity in all the duties of true believers. They all took up their abode near the chapel, in order to facilitate for their wives and children, during the winter, the instruction that is given them, and in order not to let slip a single day without coming to pray to God in the church."⁵⁷ Allouez records the baptism of one hundred Kiskakons, thirty-eight Hurons, and one hundred souls of other nations, during his stay

56. Jesuit Relations, vol.LI, p.207.

57. Ibid., vol.LI, p.207.

at the Mission du Saint Esprit in the winter of 1668-1669.

SECTION B: HEADQUARTERS AT THE MISSION DU SAINT
FRANÇOIS XAVIER ON GREEN BAY (1669-1676)

The haughty Iroquois had not been able to forget his grudge against the French, and he vented his rage against their Algonquin allies.

Missionary activity was bound to suffer from these wars. But having felt the sting of defeat from French arms, and being engrossed in wars with many Indian tribes, the Iroquois, especially in view of the increasing power of the French, were willing in 1669 to conclude a truce.

In the spring of 1669 Allouez again went down with the flotilla of canoes to Quebec, bringing with him three Iroquois prisoners whom he had ransomed from the Ottawas. These prisoners, among others, given over by de Courcelle, the French governor, to the Iroquois, were to strengthen the bonds of friendship. Allouez was full of plans to increase the activity of the Jesuits in the West during this time of peace. To avoid further lengthy travelling, Claude Dablon was made Superior of the Western Missions. Plans were completed for three permanent missions. The headquarters of the western missions was at the Mission called Sainte Marie du Sault on the rapids between Lake Superior and Huron; Jacques Marquette took over Allouez's mission Du Saint Esprit at Chequamegon, (in a few years to be driven out by the Sioux, the Iroquois of the West); Allouez hoped to establish a third mission of Saint François Xavier on Green Bay. "The illustrious triumvirate Allouez, Dablon and Marquette," as Bancroft has styled them, during the succeeding years wrote a glorious chapter in the annals of the western missions. Gabriel Drouillette and Louis André soon came to help them.

On the return journey Allouez baptized, shortly before his death, an old man who had admitted the abandoned Father into his canoe on that first memorable voyage.

On November 3, 1669, Allouez left the Mission de la Sainte Marie du Sault¹ with two companions and possibly with two canoe-loads of Pottawattomie. Allouez tells us in his journal that the savages "wished" to accompany him so that he might curb some of the French traders on Green Bay. On November 4th the party passed the bend of the St. Mary's River where it turns toward Lake Michigan, which still bears the name by which Allouez then called it, "le Détour." On November 5 the group awoke to find themselves "covered with snow and the surface of the canoe coated with ice." The rough weather forced them to walk barefooted in the icy water and drag after them their canoe loaded with provisions. Leaving behind the storied island of Michilimakinak, where the great manitou of the Indians, Ouisaketchak, "the Hare," broke the dam of the beavers, the party proceeded southward. One night the wind blew their canoe away from its mooring, and in the morning carried it back to them. Another night they were forced to anchor on the water, because the steep banks offered no place for landing. On November 29, the ice opportunely breaking before them, they entered a small river (Oconto,) emptying into the Bay des Puans or Bay of the Stinkards, (Green Bay), which they followed until December 2, on which day they arrived at the settlement of the traders. Allouez found a village of six hundred Indians made up of Ousaki, (Sacs,) Pottawattomie, Foxes and Ovenibigoutz or Quinipegouk (Winnebagos) (near Oconto), with nearby villages of one hundred

1. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, pp.197-202.

and fifty (on the Pensaukee,) one hundred (at Peshtigo) and three hundred souls (across the Bay.) Allouez tells us in a letter: "Of all these peoples, a portion gained a knowledge of our Faith at Saint Esprit Point, where I instructed them

"The savages of this region are more than usually barbarous; they are without ingenuity, and do not know how to make even a bark dish or a ladle; they commonly use shells. They are grasping and avaricious to an extraordinary degree, and sell their little commodities at a high price."²

It must be understood that the Mission of St. Francis was successively located at three distinct places; the first location was on the Oconto River at the place where Allouez landed on December 2nd and found the traders, and it remained here during the winter of 1669-1670; secondly on the Jesuit Map of the Great Lakes, printed in the "Relations" of 1670-1671, vol.LV, p.94, the mission is located on the east shore of Green Bay between Point Sable and Red Banks. Dablon corroborates this statement in the "Relations" vol. LIV, p.128: Thirdly, the mission was moved to the Rapids des Peres. Dablon says in substance in the "Relations" vol.LVI, p.91: "The past year the map of the lakes and countries in which the missions are situated has been published; we have judged proper to give it again this year, 1671-1672), to satisfy the curiosity of those who have not seen it and to mark down some new missions which have been lately established in that country; among others that of St. Francis Xavier, placed altogether newly, on the river which discharges itself into the Bay of the Puants, two leagues from its mouth."³

Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, p.207.

3. Arthur Courtenay Neville, "Some Historic Sites about Green Bay," in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1906, p.150.

Allouez spent the first month with the Sacs, whose village was located four leagues up the Fox near Little Rapids. The Indians were well-disposed, and caused the Jesuit to exclaim: "Oh, if we could succor them in their poverty, how flourishing our church would be!"⁴

On February 17, Allouez walking all day and sustained by a bit of frozen meat went to the village of the Pottawattomie. The next day the Indians made him a present of all the fat of a bear as a manifestation of their good will. Allouez remained with them until the 23. On the return journey, "the wind, which froze our faces, and the snow compelled us to halt and to pass the night on the lake. On the following day we continued our journey with much suffering. On my part, I had my nose frozen, and I had a fainting fit that compelled me to sit down on the ice, where I would have remained -- my companions having gone on ahead -- if, by a divine providence, I had not found in my handkerchief a clove, which gave me strength enough to reach the settlement."⁵

With the coming of the thaws in the beginning of March, the Indians dispersed in quest of food. Allouez sought one more Pottawattomie village before all the Indians would be on the move. These Indians questioned Allouez closely on matters of the Faith: their difficulties arising "only from their high idea of Christianity, and from their fear of not being able to fulfill its obligations."⁶

On April 16, Allouez again set out, ascended the River des Puans - Fox River which is here full of rapids - named by him Saint Francois, came to a village of the Sacs where the Indians had built a weir across the river for

4. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, p.209.

5. Ibid., vol.LIV, pp.211-213.

6. Ibid., vol.LIV, pp.213-215.

catching fish,⁷ and passed the portage of Kekaling (around the rapids at Kaukauna.)⁸ On the 19, Allouez observed the eclipse of the sun which lasted from noon until two o'clock; a third of the sun's disk, or nearly that, appeared to be eclipsed, the other two-thirds making a crescent.⁹ The party travelled by way of the portage called Ooukocitiming, "the Bank" (Grand Chute near Appleton), Lake des Puans (Winnebago) which was named Lake St. Francois, the Upper Fox River, Lake Butte des Morts, and the Wolf River to a village of the Foxes. Thwaites in French Regime in Wisconsin¹⁰ says that it is not possible with present data to locate this village, further than to say that it was probably in Waupaca County somewhere on the Little Wolf River. Verwyst and Gary place it near Mukwa, La Boule near New London, and Lawson in the vicinity of Manawa.

The Foxes had suffered a cruel blow from the Iroquois during the month of March at a place two days' journey from where Allouez was staying. While the men were hunting and only six warriors remained in the village, a band of thirty Iroquois swooped down upon the settlement, killing all the people save thirty women slaves. The Foxes were considered "stingy, avaricious, thieving, choleric and quarrelsome. They have a poor opinion of the French, ever since two traders in beaver-skins appeared among them; if these men had behaved as they ought, I would have had less trouble in giving these poor people other ideas of the whole French nation."¹¹

7. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, p.306, note 8: at the De Pere Rapids where the river is 1500 feet wide with a fall of eight feet over the U.S. government dam.

8. Ibid., vol.LIV, pp.215-227.

9. Louise Phelps Kellogg, Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699, New York, 1917, p.149. In 1902 a combined sun-dial and compass of French manufacture was found on the site of this village.

10. Reuben Gold Thwaites, French Regime in Wisconsin 1634-1727 in "Collections of the State Historical Society" Madison, 1902, vol.XVI, p.39.

These Indians were too depressed by their loss to give much attention to the teaching of the Jesuit: they begged for Allouez's assistance, which was readily granted, in obtaining protection against and peace with the Iroquois. That evening four Miamis brought three Iroquois scalps and a half-smoked arm "to console the relatives of those whom the Iroquois had killed."¹² After he had named the Mission in honor Saint Mark, Allouez left the Foxes on the 27th of April.

Travelling by way of the Fox River, now free from rapids, and over beautiful prairies,¹³ on April 30, Allouez came to the village of the Machkoutench, the "Nation of Fire," (Mascountins.) The site of the Mascoutin village is a disputed point among antiquarians. Verwyst, Thomas Clithero and A.J. Turner locate the village near Corning, Columbia County.¹⁴

The travellers were welcomed by the entire village coming out to them, escorted to the cabin of the chief, had their feet and legs anointed with oil and feasted. When all were seated, a dish was filled with powdered tobacco. An old man then rose and, turning to Allouez, with both hands full of tobacco which he took from the dish, addressed the Jesuit in these words: "This is well, black gown, that thou comest to visit us. Take pity on us; thou art a manitou; we give thee tobacco to smoke. The Sioux and the Iroquois are eating us; take pity on us. We are often ill, our children are dying, we are hungry. Hear me, Manitou; I give thee tobacco to smoke;

let the earth give us corn, and the rivers yield us fish; let not disease
 11.(continued from p.49) Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, p.225.

12. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.227.

13. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.227-231.

14. R.G. Thwaites, French Regime in Wisconsin, 1634-1727, p.42.

kill us any more, or famine treat us any longer so harshly!"¹⁵ At each desire the old men who were present uttered a loud 'Oh!' in response. The Indians offered the Jesuit a veritable sacrifice like that which they make to their false gods. Allouez horrified at being honored as a deity, did not regain his composure sufficiently that day to address the Indians and instruct them. This mission was called St. James.

The Oumamis (Miami)s¹⁶ many of whom were still absent on the hunt, claimed Allouez's care for several days. The river of this nation leads, after a six day's journey, to the Messi-sipi. Many of the villages visited by Allouez invited the Father to remain with them, but he had orders from his superiors to come to the mission de la Sainte Marie du Sault and was forced to satisfy the people with the promise that he would return in the autumn.

He stopped on the first of May to instruct the Kikabou (Kickapoos), who resided below the junction of the Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers, probably near Allouez,¹⁷ and their neighbors the Kitchigamich (People of the great lake.) "They heard me with respect....and were eager to lavish on me all the best things they had. Those poor mountaineers are kind beyond all power of belief....The courtesies that they showed me kept me busy almost all day; they came to my cabin to give me an invitation, conducted me to their own, and, after making me sit down on a fine new piece of fur, presented me a handful of tobacco, which they placed at my feet; and brought me a kettle full of fat, meat, and Indian corn.....When at times I sought retirement for the purpose of praying, they would follow me, and, from time

15. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, pp.231-232.

16. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.229.

17. C.Verwyst. "Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez

to time, come and interrupt me, saying to me in a suppliant tone, "Manitou, take pity on us!"¹⁸

On May 6, Allouez visited the Oumalouminek (Menominee,) and named the mission and the river (Menominee) on which it was located after St. Michael.¹⁹

Upon Allouez's return to the Mission of St. Francis, a Pottawattomie, not daring to ask Allouez for news, addressed the missionary's dog in these words: "Tell me, O Captain's dog, what is the state of affairs among the Oumacouminetz? Thy Master has told thee; thou hast followed him everywhere. Do not conceal the matter from me, for I dare not ask him about it."²⁰ There is a touch of pathetic humor in the shrewd remark added by Allouez: "I saw well what his design was."

On May 13th Allouez visited the Winnebagos,²¹ of whom the entire nation, save for one man shot through the body with an arrow, was captured thirty years previously by the Illinois. Upon gaining their freedom, the nation elected this man, because he had not been a slave, their Chief.

On May 20th Allouez embarked with a Frenchman and an Indian for the Mission de la Sainte Marie du Sault.

Dablon accompanied Allouez on the return journey from the Sault to Green Bay, which place was reached on September 6, 1670. The Jesuits found the Indians in an uproar over their treatment by the French traders.²² In order to avenge themselves the Indians, aping the customs observed in the French settlements, had organized a company of soldiers. The Jesuits were the peace-makers. They met the Indians in council. "When it was time to 17.(continued from p.51) in the Lake Superior Region," p.178.

18. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIV, pp.233-235.

19. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.235.

20. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.237.

21. Ibid., vol.LIV, p.237.

22. Ibid., vol.LV, p.115-191.

assemble," writes Allouez, "two of them (of the company of soldiers) came to call us, muskets shouldered and war-hatchets, instead of swords, at the belt; and throughout the sitting of the assembly they continued this species of sentry duty at the cabin door, assuming as much dignity as they could, and pacing back and forth (which the savages never do) with their muskets now on one shoulder and now on the other, striking the most astonishing attitudes, and making themselves the more ridiculous, the more they tried to comport themselves seriously. We had difficulty in refraining from laughter, although we were treating of only the most important mattersIn the evening, all the elders paid us a visit of honor, those savage soldiers, so amusingly Frenchified, still on duty."²³ The patience and kindness of the Fathers restored order and good will, and the Indians expressed themselves desirous of being instructed in the Faith.

Families of the Illinois Indians had settled near Green Bay, and more of this nation were coming to join their tribesmen. As these Indians had so favorably heard Allouez during the previous years at Chequamegon and Green Bay, the Fathers were desirous of continuing their work among them. Dablon and Allouez set out to visit the new home of the Illinois. Dablon expressed himself as to that journey: "If the country of this nation somewhat resembles an earthly paradise in beauty, the way leading to it may also be said to bear some likeness to the one depicted by our Lord as leading to heaven.....(One) finds three or four leagues of rapids to contend with; and they are more difficult than is usual in other rivers, since the pebbles on which the men must walk barefoot, dragging the canoes, are so sharp and

23. Jesuit Relations, vol.LV, p.189.

cutting that they have the utmost difficulty in withstanding the swift current which flows there.

"At the fall of these rapids, we found a sort of idol which the savages of that region honor, never failing to offer it some sacrifices in passing, -- either of tobacco or arrows, or painted objects, or other articles, -- to thank it for aiding them to escape, on their way up, the dangers of the waterfalls occurring in the stream: or else, if they have to descend, to pray for its assistance on that perilous voyage. It is a rock shaped by nature in the form of a human bust, in which one seems to distinguish, from a distance, the head, shoulders, breast and, more especially, the face, which passers-by are wont to paint with their finest colors. To remove this cause of idolatry, we had it carried away by main force and thrown to the bottom of the river, never to appear again."²⁴

After these trials, the party travelled over "the fairest land possible to behold," dotted by little grove-planted hills of elms and oaks, with apple and plum trees and vines along the way, and with wild oats on the banks of the rivers. Dablon becomes eloquent in his description of the pisikiou (the buffalo) and of the Cheté (the white pelican or pelecaneus erythrorhynchos). "In these rich pasture-lands are also found buffaloes, called pisikiou, which greatly resemble our bulls in strength and size. They surpass our cattle, however, -- first, in being more prolific, the female bearing three and four young at a time; secondly, in having larger horns which are indeed very similar to those of our cattle in form and color, but are of double their size, being nearly two feet long when the animal is fairly mature; and

24. Ibid., vol.LV, pp.191-193.

thirdly, in having thick, heavy, dark-colored hair which somewhat resembles the wool of sheep, but is much coarser and thicker. Therefore it is made into robes and fur garments which afford greater protection from the cold than any other furs of this country. Its flesh is excellent; and the fat, when mixed with wild oats, makes the most delicate of native dishes.

"The same river of which we are speaking is broken up by several small lakes, on which are seen in great numbers certain rare birds of a very peculiar sort, called by the savages Cheté. One would take them for swans, from a distance, as they have the latter's white plumage and long necks, their feet, and bodies of the same size; but the point of difference and curiosity lies in the beak, which is fully a foot in length, and as thick as one's arm. They usually carry it resting upon the neck, which they bend back for the purpose, as if to offer it a most inviting bed. They maintain this posture to relieve themselves of its weight, except when they use it for fishing; for then it is wonderful to see how, beneath this beak, nature has fashioned a sort of net, -- which opens and shuts, more or less, according to the supply of fish therein enclosed. This net is made of skin, of extremely fine and elastic texture, which, when closed, is gathered up so well and so snugly all along the under side of the beak that nothing is seen of it, -- in order that the fishes may not take fright at it; but, at the proper time, the birds can enlarge it so quickly and open it so wide that it would easily hold a man's head."²⁵

On September 15, 1670, the Jesuits arrived at the Mission of St. James containing at that time more than 3000 Mascoutins and Miamis. Allouez

25. Jesuit Relations, vol.LV, p.195-199.

repeated the teaching he had given in the spring; the Indians listened with attention and a respectful silence, and asked at all times for a more detailed explanation of the Faith. The Fathers were honored by all; their help was sought in war against the Sioux; the oldest men appeared before them, as if dressed for a comedy, and danced to a musical chant; the Indians whose former home was in Illinois, gave the Jesuits much information about the Mississippi River, which the Fathers would pass to their confrère Marquette. The chief of these Indians completely won the Jesuits by his natural dignity and mildness. This Indian followed the Fathers everywhere, showed such emotion on hearing of the Passion of Christ that the Frenchmen accompanying the party were in admiration, kept the crowds out of his cabin and forbade any cooking in it while the Jesuits visited and instructed him.

Dablon recorded the strange head-dress of the Indians of the Illinois stock. They clipped the greater part of the head, and leave four great mustaches, one on each side of each ear.

Twelve or fifteen men, who had arrived from the Illinois country to visit their relatives, came ceremoniously with a great crowd to the Jesuits. These Indians said of the teachings of the Fathers "that they valued so highly what they had learned from us that they were not content to go and publish it throughout their country; but would make the message resound among other and much more remote peoples."²⁶

The Indians completely won the hearts of the Jesuits, and the Fathers, in turn, theirs. When the Jesuits departed, they were accompanied a short distance on their journey by an honorary delegation of the village. The red men promised to build a chapel in their village in order to begin a permanent

26. Jesuit Relations, vol. LV, p. 215-217.

mission.

On January 21, 1671, Allouez announced the observation at Green Bay of a parhelion of the sun. "High in the air was seen a great crescent, its horns pointing heavenward; while on the two sides of the sun were two other suns, at equal distances from the real one, which occupied the middle."²⁷ The savagds were more practical and predicted the extreme cold which followed.

On February 20, 1671, Allouez set out for St. Marc's mission among the
28
Foxes. The French traders dared not set foot in this village as the Foxes were aroused over the treatment received from these traders. Allouez dared to enter; he found a babylon of disorder and pride, was mocked and insulted, especially in the cabins of certain chiefs who had as many as eight wives, and into which he could not step without abhorrence, as into a seraglio. Allouez prepared himself for the hatchet-blow and death, but his kindness and patience melted those savage hearts; the wolf was changed into the lamb. The whole village listened to Allouez, five children and two adults were baptized, and the Indians promised to build a chapel in preparation for the reception of a permanent pastor. These Foxes had the custom of throwing handfuls of powdered tobacco upon Allouez's crucifix as if offering the censer to it.

Governor Talon, following the policy of Colbert in seeking the valuable fur trade of the Indians, sent Sieur Daumont de Saint Lussou westward to summon a congress of the redmen and accept their allegiance. On June 4, 1671, on a height overlooking the Mission de la Sainte Marie du Sault the colorful congress of nations was held. St. Lussou was there with a few brilliantly-

27. Jesuit Relations, vol. LV, p. 173.

28. Ibid., vol. LV, pp. 219-225.

clad officers from the veteran armies of old France; Nicolas Perrot^d came at the head of the wild, buckskin-clad traders among whom was Louis Joliet; grouped together were the Jesuits, Dablon, Allouez, Druilletes and Andre, in the rich vestments of their priestly office sent from France; all around the great throng of ambassadors from fourteen Indian nations stood or crouched, or reclined at length, with eyes and ears intent.

The cross was blessed by Dablon and raised to the chanting of the "Vexilla Regis;" above the cross, the French Escutcheon marked with the lilies of the Bourbons was fixed to a cedar pole while the "Exaudiat" was sung. St. Lussou, with much pomp, "took possession of those regions, while the air resounded with repeated shouts of 'Vive le Roi!' and the discharge of musketry."²⁹ The Indians were delighted, and leaped about in excitement and astonishment. Allouez was summoned from Green Bay and delegated, because of his knowledge of the Indian mind and his adroitness in their mode of haranguing in council, as well as the esteem in which he was held by white and red man, to give the final address of the pageant.

"Here is an excellent matter brought to your attention, my brothers," said he to them, -- "a great and important matter, which is the cause of this council. Cast your eyes upon the cross raised so high above your heads: there it was that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, making himself man for the love of men, was pleased to be fastened and to die, in atonement to his Eternal Father for our sins. He is the master of our lives, of heaven, of earth, and of hell. Of Him I have always spoken to you, and His name and word I have borne into all these countries. But look likewise at that other

post, to which are affixed the armorial bearings of the great captain of France whom we call King. He lives beyond the sea; he is the captain of the greatest captains, and has not his equal in the world. All the captains you have ever seen, or of whom you have ever heard, are mere children compared with him. He is like a great tree, and they, only like little plants that we tread under foot in walking. You know about Onnontio (Talon), that famous Captain of Quebec. You know and feel that he is the terror of the Iroquois, and that his very name makes them tremble, now that he has laid waste their country and set fire to their villages. Beyond the sea there are ten thousand Onnontios like him, who are only the soldiers of that great captain, our great King, of whom I am speaking. When he says, "I am going to war," all obey him; and those ten thousand captains raise companies of a hundred soldiers each, both on sea and on land. Some embark in ships, one or two hundred in number, like those you have seen at Quebec. Four canoes hold only four or five men -- or, at the very most, ten or twelve. Our ships in France hold four or five hundred, and even as many as a thousand. Other men make war by land, but in such vast numbers that, if drawn up in a double file, they would extend farther than from here to Mississaugenk, although the distance exceeds twenty leagues. When he attacks, he is more terrible than the thunder; the earth trembles, the air and the sea are set on fire by the discharge of his cannon; while he has been seen amid his squadrons, all covered with the blood of his foes, of whom he has slain so many with his sword that he does not count their scalps, but the rivers of blood which he sets flowing. So many prisoners of war does he lead away that he makes no account of them, letting them go about whither they will, to show that he

does not fear them. No one now dares make war upon him, all nations beyond the sea having most submissively sued for peace. From all parts of the world people go to listen to his words and to admire him, and he alone decides all the affairs of the world. What shall I say of his wealth? You count yourselves rich when you have ten or twelve sacks of corn, some hatchets, glass beads, kettles, or other things of that sort. He has towns of his own, more in number than you have people in all these countries five hundred leagues around; while in each town there are warehouses containing enough hatchets to cut down all your forests, kettles to cook all your moose, and glass beads to fill all your cabins. His house is longer than from here to the head of the Sault" - that is, more than half a league, --"and higher than the tallest of your trees; and it contains more families than the largest of your villages can hold."

"The Father," continues the Relation, "added much more of this sort, which was received with wonder by those people, who were all astonished to hear that there was any man on earth so great, rich, and powerful."³⁰

No matter what we think of the local color of this oration, it shows that Allouez was a master of barbaric imagery, which counted for much to the Indian audience.

30. Jesuit Relations, vol.LV, pp.109-113.

Allouez was accompanied by Louis André on his return to the mission of St. Francis after the colorful spectacle at the Sault. The Fathers took up their abode at the Rapides des Pères of the Fox River, because it was the great thoroughfare for all the surrounding nations, who maintained a constant intercourse either in visiting or trading. "For their greater convenience, the Fathers divided the work -- one devoting himself to the more remote nations of the forest (Allouez), and the other (André) to those gathered on the shores of Green Bay."³¹

"We would need here almost as much time for following Father Claude Allouez in an account of his apostolic journeys, as he took in making them; for he has not visited a single nation without performing deeds for the glory of God, that would be very long to relate."³² During the winter of 1671-1672 Allouez made the swing of his former circuit, stopping at the villages of the Mascoutins and the Foxes. He erected a large cross in the center of the village of the Foxes, and taught every citizen to trace it on his person. The Indians had such confidence in the cross that when some young warriors about to set out on a war-party against the Sioux came to Allouez for help, he told them the story of Constantine and encouraged them to trust in the cross. The warriors painted their shields and weapons with the sign, made it daily on their persons, and, on seeing the enemy, first stopped and made the sign of the cross and then plunged into battle with such valor that they won a victory. On their return home the warriors gave a great feast to celebrate the victory of the cross.

On March 25, 1672, Allouez came to Green Bay where the Indians had

31. Ibid., vol.LVI, pp.123-125.

32. Ibid, vol.LVI, pp.139-141.

gathered for sturgeon fishing. André was relieved by Allouez of his duties and the former made his annual retreat of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius as directed by the rule of the Society of Jesus.³³ There was no disregard for the observance of their rule by the Jesuits in the western forests.

On August 9, 1672, Allouez was again at the Mission of St. James on one of his journeys to the autumn and winter homes of the Indians. Illinoués (Illinois), Kickapoos, Mascoutins, Miamiak (Miami) and Ouauiatanoukak (Weas), had nearly doubled the population since Allouez's visit the previous year. The success enjoyed by the Jesuit in this mission was phenomenal. Great crowds came to hear the instructions and attend the celebration of Mass. The concourse of people was so great that they broke the walls of the cabin in their desire to see the Black Robe. "I had barely time to take my food,"³⁴ wrote Allouez. On August 18 a cross, twenty-two feet high, was planted near the chapel. The Miami asked Allouez for the cross so that they could carry it with them; but the Mascoutins objected to this, and Allouez blessed crosses for each tribe. The Illinois were so pleased to see the Black Gown that they followed him everywhere and prevented any privacy. These Indians marvelled that the Jesuit refused all presents and feasts, and came over such a long journey and labored so valiantly for the salvation of their own souls. Even when Allouez was forced by a cold to keep to his cabin, his voice being so weak he could only speak in a whisper, the Indians crowded his hut to see him.

On the 16th of September, Allouez arrived at the Mission of St. Francis

33. Ibid., vol.LVII, p.301.

34. Ibid., vol.LVIII, p.25.

Xavier after having his canoe broken in the rapids of the Fox River.³⁴ This accident forced him to spread all his baggage and writings in the sun to dry and to spend eight days on an islet, ten feet long, with a sick man while his boatman purchased a second canoe.

The winter of 1672-1673 was spent at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier and in many visits to the neighboring Indians. Allouez gives the roll-call of the tribes met by him in the surrounding country. At St. Francis Xavier near Green Bay were Pouteouatami (Pottawattomie), Saki (Sacs), Quenibigouc (Winnebagoes), Oumalouminik (Menominee,) Outaoussinagouc, and others; at the Mission of St. Marc were Outagamis (Foxes), Ouagoussak (a general name for the Foxes), Makoua (the Bear clan of Ojibwas), Makoucoue (Mantone) and Mikissioua (Eagle clan of Ojibwas); westward in the woods were the Atchaterakangouen (Crane clan of Ojibwas), Machkoutench (Mascoutins), Marameg (Chippewas), Kikaboua (Kickapoos) and Kitchigamich; at the Mission of St. James were the Miamis, Ilinoué (Illinois), Kakachkiouek (Kaskaskias),³⁵ Peoualen (Peorias), Ouacuiatanouk (Weas), Memilounioue, Pepikoukia, Kilitika and Mengakonkia (Moingonas).

During the years 1673-1676 Allouez, with the Mission at the Rapides des Pères as his headquarters, continued his work among the Mascoutins and Foxes of whom twelve tribes of 20,000 people had received him, and among the Miamis, Kickapoos and other tribes of central Wisconsin. Allouez complained in his "Relation" that the numbers to be instructed and the many journeys between the villages hindered the advancement of these missions.³⁶ He was a passionate hunter for human souls. No sportsman in the pursuit of the

35. Ibid., vol.LVIII, p.41.

36. Ibid., vol.LIX, pp.221-225.

wild game of the forest was so ardent as he was to convert an Indian from paganism and to regenerate his soul. The Indian hunters met by Allouez in the forest left their quarry and guided the Jesuit to the cabins of the sick, so that he could administer the sacraments of the Church.

Each village had its large cross which was venerated by all, the dying expressing the wish to be buried near it, and the elders curbing French traders in anger with the cross erected by the Black Gown. "On Good Friday, the greater number of our Christians kissed and venerated the cross. The more fervent carried to their homes each a small cross that I had blessed to give to them."³⁷ The fasts of the church which accorded with the Indian view of religion were introduced. Young girls carried eagle talons beneath their blankets with which to defend themselves against the insolence of the young men.³⁸

Allouez wrote in a letter of May 26, 1676:³⁹ "Since last spring I have been able to give only flying missions, in order not to abandon some while attaching myself too closely to others."⁴⁰

37. Ibid., vol.LIX, p.231.

38. Ibid., vol.LX, p.199.

39. Ibid., vol.LX, p.197.

40. On September 6, 1899, the Mission founded by Allouez at De Père was commemorated by the unveiling of a monument by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. At the same time there was exhibited the famous silver ostensorium given in 1686 by Nicolas Perrot to the Mission of St. Francis, and frequently used by Allouez.

PART II. THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY (1676-1687)

Marquette on the memorable voyage of discovery down the Mississippi River with Joliet in 1673 had been most favorably received by the Kaskaskia tribe of Illinois Indians. The young Jesuit, yielding to the entreaties of the Kaskaskias, promised to return and instruct the savages in the Faith. On October 25, 1674, Marquette set out to redeem his promise;¹ he spent the spring, until shortly after Easter, at the village of the Kaskaskias, to which mission he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception, and then left after repeated promises that he or another missionary would return to them. Marquette died on the return journey.

The following years were eventful for the Illinois. The Iroquois, who were dependent upon the traders of Albany, had exhausted the supply of furs in their own country. They turned to the unexploited region of the West in order to satisfy their wants, and planned to conquer the western Indians and exploit their country. This was no mere Indian war-party, but, rather, the beginning of the series of international wars between the French and the English for the possession of colonial North America. The English struck at the French indirectly through the Iroquois. The French, while holding the Iroquois at bay in the East, attempted to settle the Mississippi Valley and win the Indians of the region and their valuable fur trade.² The wars with the Iroquois naturally made missionary work in the Illinois country very

1. Jesuit Relations, vol.LIX, pp.164-211.
2. Sister Mary Borgias Palm,S.S.N.D., The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763, St. Louis, 1933, p.27.

difficult. Previously Marquette had succeeded Allouez at Chequamegon, now the veteran and tried Allouez was chosen by his superiors to succeed Marquette among the Kaskaskias. Intrepid in danger, indefatigable in labor and travel, a gifted linguist, resourceful in need, able to inspire confidence in the Indians, Allouez seemed the best missionary for the Illinois.

Allouez set out at the end of October, 1676, "In a canoe with two men to endeavor to go and winter with the Illinois; but I had not got far when the ice prevented us, so early had the winter set in. This obliged us to lie and wait till it was strong enough to bear us; and it was only in February that we undertook a very extraordinary kind of navigation, for instead of putting the canoe in the water, we put it on the ice, on which a favorable wind carried it along by sails, as if it was on water. When the wind failed us, instead of paddles, we used ropes to drag it as horses do a carriage."³

Allouez stopped with some Pottawattomies met on the way to console the parents of a young man baptized by him at Chequamegon and recently killed by a bear. In his many journeys through Wisconsin Allouez had made contact with nearly all the Indian tribes which, in their constant migrations, crossed his path. The Black Robe was known and respected by the savages in the surrounding country through actual contact or the reports of others.

Continuing its advance, the party carried the canoe through the woods over the league and a-half portage of Sturgeon Bay to the Lake of the Illinois, which was reached on March 18 on the eve of the feast of St. Joseph. Allouez named the lake after St. Joseph, the patron saint of Canada. Allouez wrote of this portion of his journey: "We accordingly embarked on the 23rd of May, and had much to do with the ice, through which we had to break a passage. 3. Jesuit Relations, vol. LX, p. 151.

The water was so cold, that it froze on our oars, and on the side of the canoe which the sun did not reach Our great trouble was, that the rivers still being frozen, we could not enter them till the 3rd of April. We consecrated that which we at last entered in Holy Week by planting a large cross on the shore, in order that the Indians, who go there in numbers to hunt might remember the instructions we had given them."⁴

On the next day he found the famous "pitchrock," which he said gave them material for caulking the canoe and sealing his letters. The exact location of this rock has been identified by Dr. Hobbs of the University of Wisconsin, as being in Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. It rises slightly above the water, and in it there are many cavities filled with a semi-fluid, tar-like bitumen.⁵

Allouez, upon his arrival at the mouth of the Chicago River, was met and welcomed by a band of Illinois Indians. He described this meeting in the "Relations;" "The captain came about thirty steps to meet me, carrying in one hand a firebrand and in the other a calumet adorned with feathers. Approaching me, he placed it in my mouth and himself lighted the tobacco, which obliged me to make a pretense of smoking it. Then he made me come into his cabin, and having given me the place of honor, he spoke to me as follows: 'My Father, have pity on me; suffer me to return with thee, to bear thee company and take thee into my village. The meeting I have had today with thee will prove fatal to me if I do not use it to my advantage. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer. If I lose the opportunity of listening to thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, whom thou

4. Ibid., vol.LX, p.155.

5. T.J. Campbell, S.J., Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642-1710, Vol.iii, p.163

seest in so great number; without doubt they will be defeated by our⁶ enemies. Let us embark, then, in company, that I may profit by thy coming into our land."⁶

Pushing southward, Allouez arrived at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception in Kachkachkia, the great village of the Illinois, on April 27, 1677, and took up his abode in the identical cabin occupied in 1674-1675 by Marquette. Allouez explains how Kachkachkia became the great village. The Kaskaskias who were originally the only nation in the village invited the neighboring tribes to live with them. "You could not easily form an idea of the number of Indians who compose this town; they are lodged in 351 cabins, easily counted, for they are most ranged on the banks of the river."⁷ The eight tribes of the Illinois, as enumerated by Rochemonteix, were 1)Kikapoos, 2)Kaskaskias, 3)Miamis, 4)Cahokias (Caoquias), 5)Peorias, 6)Tamarois (Tamaroas), 7)Mouingouenas, 8)Mitchigamias and the Weas and Piankaskaws.⁸

Marion A. Habig has summed up the data concerning the actual site of the great Illinois village. He distinguishes between the great Village of the Illinois and the Indian settlement of 1683 near Fort St. Louis. The latter was located below Le Rocher, just west of Starved Rock, on the site of present Utica. The former lay between Utica and Starved Rock on one hand and Ottawa on the other. The old Kaskaskia village was situated at Twin Bluffs, but formed a part (the eastern part) of the Great Village from 1677 to 1680. During the greater part of that period, particularly in 1680 before its destruction by the Iroquois, the Great Illinois Village stood on

6. Jesuit Relations, vol.LX, p.158.

7. Ibid., vol.LX, p.159.

8. Rochemonteix, vol.2, p.529.

the northern bank of the Illinois River, extending along the river for a distance of one and a-quarter leagues (three and one-eighth miles), the eastern extremity being two leagues (five miles) west of the mouth of the Fox River, and the western extremity being two leagues (five miles) east of the mouth of the Vermilion River, as well as one-half league (one and one-quarter miles) east of Starved Rock. All these measurements are taken from the contemporary French accounts; they are remarkably harmonious and accurate.⁹ Thwaites, Parkman, Margry, and the majority of historians support this location of the village.

After a few days' preparations Allouez signalized his coming by the great missionary ceremonial described in his "Relation": "To take possession of these tribes in the name of Jesus Christ on the 3rd day of May (1677), the feast of the Holy Cross, I erected in the midst of the town a cross thirty-five feet high, chanting the Vexilla Regis in the presence of a great number of Illinois of all tribes, of whom I can say in truth that they did not take Jesus crucified for a folly nor for a scandal. On the contrary, they witnessed the ceremony with great respect and heard all on the mystery with admiration. The children even wanted to kiss the cross through devotion, and the old earnestly commended me to place it well so that it could not fall."¹⁰

Since he had come only to acquire the information necessary to put the mission on a permanent footing, Allouez stayed but a short time, instructed each of the eight nations in turn, and returned to Green Bay for the winter of 1677-1678.

9. M.A. Habig, "The Site of the Great Illinois Village," in Mid-America, Chicago, 1933, New Series, vol.V, p.12.

10. Jesuit Relations, vol.X, p.165.

Allouez set out again for the Illinois in 1678 with the intention of remaining there two years.¹¹ Upon the approach of La Salle in December, 1679, the Jesuit retired to the Miami.¹²

A curious episode in the life of La Salle was his ill-feeling towards the Jesuits. In the mind of the explorer the Jesuits were responsible for the opposition offered to his western plans by the Illinois. "In his letters of this period, La Salle dwells at great length on the devices by which, as he believed, his enemies tried to ruin him and his enterprise. He is particularly severe against the Jesuit Allouez, whom he charges with intriguing 'pour commencer la guerre entre les Iroquois et les Illinois par le moyen des Miamis qu'on engageoit dans cette négociation afin ou de me faire massacrer avec mes gens par quelqu'une de ces nations ou de me brouiller avec les Iroquois.' - Lettre (à Thouret?), 22 Août, 1682. He gives in detail the circumstances on which this suspicion rests, but which are not convincing."¹³

It is improbable that a man of Allouez's character should be guilty of the sinister motives and designs attributed to him by La Salle and his adherents. Margry says that there is uniform testimony to Allouez's merit, the only dissonant voice being that of La Salle. On the other hand it was natural, since their motives and purpose were different, for the explorers and traders to view the activities of the missionaries with apprehension. Taught by previous experience, the missionary saw in each new trading-post a center of immorality in which the licentious lives of the coueurs de bois rendered futile the efforts of the missionary to convert the Indians. The

11. Ibid., vol. LX, p. 167.

12. Margry, vol. 2, p. 41.

13. Francis Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West (Boston,

The "Relations" are full of the invectives of the Jesuits against the sale of fire water to the Indians, and of complaints against the exploitation of the redmen which aroused a hatred of all things French in the savage breast. The traders and their patrons resented the opposition of the priests, and at times, as in La Salle's case, the indignation amounted to a mania.

It appears to have been at the solicitation of Allouez that a band of Miami, known as the Wea, were induced to settle at Chicago where their exposed position made them an object of attack from Iroquois raiders. The Iroquois in one of these raids inflicted severe losses on the Indians at Chicago who blamed Allouez for having induced them to move to such a dangerous place. De La Potherie, who apparently obtained his information from Perrot, recorded: "The messenger said that the Miamis were at the bay (Green Bay) and that they had very badly treated Father Allouez, a Jesuit, who had prompted their going to Chicago, as they imputed to him the loss of their people."¹⁴ Rochemonteix had it from de La Potherie that the Indians were on the point of burning Allouez alive. The life of Allouez was saved through the intervention of the trader and an old friend of Allouez, Nicolas Perrot.

From 1679 to 1683 Allouez made his headquarters at Green Bay. La Salle meanwhile built Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River near the now famous

13. (continued from p.70) 1907), p.238. "to begin a war between the Iroquois and Illinois through the Miami with whom he negotiated for the massacre of myself and my men by members of this tribe, or for the embroilment of myself with the Iroquois. - Letter of August 22, 1682."

14. G.J. Garraghan, S.J. "Chicago Under the French Regime," in Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1930, vol.37, p.189, note 18.

Starved Rock. In 1683 a band of Seneca Indians attacked La Salle's forces in this fort commanded by Chevalier Bougy and Henri de Tonti. The besieged party "dispatched a canoe to de la Durantaye, Governor of Missilimakinak, to ask him for assistance M. de la Durantaye, with Father Allouez, a Jesuit, arrived at the fort with about sixty Frenchmen, whom they were bringing to our assistance, and more particularly, to inform me of the orders of M. de La Barre, to leave the place, and that M. de Bogis was in possession of a place belonging to M. de La Salle."¹⁵

Allouez resumed charge of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias, which had been cared for by the Recollects while La Salle was in the Illinois country. "The Iroquois waged war on these people, (the Illinois Indians,) and these barbarians persuaded themselves that the French had been concerned in that war because they were allies of the Iroquois. This irritated them to such an extent that they resolved to slay the first Frenchman who should set foot in their country. The Father (Allouez) nevertheless went thither, hoping that the scourge with which God had chastised them for their misdeeds would make them more docile. He made them see that he knew very well the resolution that they had taken, but that his zeal for their salvation, and for teaching them to know a God Who loved them, had made him neglect the preservation of his own life. This confidence wins them; they thank him, and say that now they see true that the Black Gown loves them, and that he is their father. The Father took advantage of this ardor to speak to them regarding the matter of their salvation. He erected a chapel, the walls of which consisted of rushes only. They hastened

15. Louise Phelps Kellogg, Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699.
pp.305-6.

thither in so great numbers that, as the chapel was too small to contain all of them, they opened it on all sides to satisfy their desire of learning things which, as they said, were of great importance to them. Although the Father inveighed in the strongest manner in the world against their vices -- such as hatred, murder, and impurity -- they nevertheless listened to him with admirable attention. They followed him everywhere, so as not to lose a word of what he might say; and they gave him no rest either by day or by night."¹⁶

Dablon wrote in a letter of Allouez: "Il travailla et il souffrit tant son hyvernement de 1678, où il se trouva seul avec les sauvages, et sans Francois, que les dix dernières années qu'il a vescu depuis, il n'a plus eu ni santé, ni forces, quoyqu'il ayt travaillé constamment jusques à sa mort."¹⁷ The "Relations" tell us of the fasts of that winter when the Indians and Allouez lived on the miserable roots which the women dug, of the long journeys through marshes when the travellers would break through the thin ice and were forced to tramp through slush and water, of the instructions during these marches given by Allouez to a few Indians gathered at his side as they all struggled under their burdens.¹⁸

Allouez, understood and appreciated by Tonti, continued his ministry among the French and Indians of the Illinois country until the remnants of La Salle's fatal expedition reached Fort St. Louis on September 14, 1687.

The travellers falsely reported that La Salle was alive and a few days'

16. Jesuit Relations, vol. LXII, pp. 211-212.

17. Margry, I, p. 59. "He labored and suffered so much during the winter of 1678 when he found himself alone with the savages and without French companions, that during the last ten years of his life he had neither health nor strength, and yet worked continuously until his death."

18. Jesuit Relations, vol. LXII, pp. 207-211.

journey from the fort. Allouez was lying ill in the fort at the time and soon after, when he had partially recovered, withdrew to Wisconsin. From a deed which fell into his hands, John Gilmary Shea expressed his belief that Allouez was at Fort St. Louis in the winter of 1689.¹⁹

19. John Gilmary Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley: with the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay, note at bottom of pp.67-70.

PART THIRD. MICHIGAN AND THE MISSION OF

ST. JOSEPH (1688-1689)

The last missions of Allouez were among the Miami and the Pottawattomie. He had met some of these tribes during his stay in Wisconsin, especially at the Mission of St. James, and had learned their language. During the following years Allouez increased his contacts with these Indians on his long journeys. The first white man known to have visited the vicinity of Ft. St. Joseph, according to Daniel McCoy in an article published in the Michigan Historical Collection, "was Father Claude Jean Allouez, who came in 1675 having an eye to the spiritual welfare of the Pottawattomies and Miamis of this section of the country."¹ At the latest, Allouez must have been with the Miamis on the St. Joseph River prior to 1679, for in that year La Salle and Tonti had a rendezvous at this Indian village. In describing this meeting Charlevoix says: "This bourgade Allouez had cultivated with great success."²

After a particularly severe attack from the Iroquois, the Miamis in 1682 sought the protection of a temporary fort erected by La Salle near South Bend, Indiana. The permanent mission was planned and a land grant for this purpose on the St. Joseph River was signed by the Governor of New France in 1686, and confirmed by the King. The location of the mission seems to have been the one reported by Charlevoix in 1721; he states that it was twenty

1. Daniel McCoy, "Old Fort St. Joseph" in the Historical Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, 1907, vol. XXXV, p. 546.
2. Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, S.J., History and General Description of New France, New York, 1902, vol. I, p. 458.

leagues (60 miles) from the mouth of the river following a tortuous course, two and three-quarter miles northwest of the center of South Bend, Indiana, or three miles south of the present city of Niles, Michigan. The site has not been accurately determined.³ This mission was named the Mission of St. Joseph.

The door of the log chapel of Notre Dame University at South Bend, Indiana, bears an inscription which begins: "Indiana's Cradle of Religion. In 1686 the Rev. Claude Allouez, S.J., erected a chapel on the border of this, St. Mary's Lake."

Allouez, old and worn out by his long and strenuous labors among the Indians of the upper Mississippi Valley, made St. Joseph's Mission his headquarters during the few remaining months of his life; and here, at work among his beloved Miamis and Pottawattomies, he gave back to God his spirit.

Dablon wrote of his death: "Un de nos domestiques, qui estoit avec luy, tesmoigne que le Père malade ayant fait de fréquens actes de contrition, avoit tasché de communier spirituellement comme en forme de viatique, qu'ensuite il s'estoit adressé a Saint Jacques pour obtenir par cet Apostre les salutaires effets de l'extrém-onction, et qu'enfin ayant prononcé par trois fois les noms sacrez de Jésus et de Marie pour gagner l'indulgence de la Compagnie, il estoit mort doucement la nuit du 27 au 28 d'acoust, 1689. C'est la soixante-seizième année de son age, la quarante-septième de son entrée en religion, et la trente-deuxième commencée depuis son arrivée en Canada Le Père Claude Allouez a moins besoin de nos suffrages que n'avons de son intercession."⁴

4. Margry, 1, p.59. "One of our servants, who was with him, testifies that the sick Father frequently made acts of contrition, tried to communicate

Allouez was first and foremost a missionary; the saving of souls was the one, strong motive that led him to forsake the safety and comforts of France for the hard life of a new land, and this was the sustaining force that helped him amidst the hardships and labors of his missions. He estimated his own life of little value and made naught of it, if he could bring the Indians of the forests to a knowledge of God and to the salvation of their souls.

Allouez is credited with having instructed during his years on the mission 100,000 Indians, 10,000 of whom he baptized.⁵ He, who was so devoted to St. Francis Xavier, is spoken of and honored as the Xavier of America. He was the greatest missionary of the Upper Mississippi Valley during colonial times. This is indeed very high tribute; for the days of Father Allouez were those of scholarly and scientific men, numbering saints, martyrs, explorers and heroes.

Allouez greatly served France on the frontiers of her far-flung colonial empire. His achievements are manifold. He was great as an explorer, historian and geographer. He won the good will of the Indians, and used his influence over them in behalf of French interests. He acted as peace-maker when the savages were preparing for the war trail against the French. The Indians came to Allouez, and asked him to settle their quarrels with the traders and trappers when the reckless and greedy white man disrupted the unspoiled and free ways of the forests. Allouez spread French influence among the tribes met on his journeys through the West, and won many a savage warrior to French allegiance. He gathered the roaming Indians into huts about his mission spiritually for his viaticum, then addressed himself to St. James to obtain through this Apostle the salutary effects of Extreme Unction, and at length, having pronounced three times the sacred name of Jesus and Mary to gain the

chapel, generally in some favored spot where the Indians were more accessible to the French traders. Each of his missions was a potential bond uniting the distant lands of this vast colonial empire to the center of French government at Quebec.

To Allouez is due the credit for first traversing in detail and accurately mapping important sections of Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan. Considered quantitatively alone, his work of exploration was astounding. During his residence at the various missions he made many journeys into the surrounding country. These tours were all made on foot or in birch bark canoe. In the course of them he crossed and recrossed sections of the country, and learned from the Indians the geography of distant places. When he first traversed most of these trails, they were either absolutely untrod by civilized man or had been altogether forgotten. His explorations were made through lands inhabited by savage tribes who often heaped on the missionary insults and violence. He first heard of the Mississippi River, and passed to his confrere, Marquette, the facts learned by him.

In estimating these feats of exploration, we must remember the limited means with which he performed them. He was not supported and encouraged by a retinue of French soldiers and friendly Indians. Alone and with scant luggage, he joined some party of hostile Indians and plunged into the wilderness. Buried in the West, he writes of his longing for a companion missionary. His endurance under pack on the trail and with paddle in a canoe stands with that of any pioneer of colonial times. His physical courage is attested by indulgence of the Society of Jesus, died sweetly during the night of August 27-28, 1689. He was sixty-six years of age, forty-seven years in religion, and thirty-two years in Canada Father Claude Allouez has less need of our suffrages than we have need of his intercession."

5. Campbell, vol.III, p164. (notes continued from page 76-77.)

by his whole career in America, spent in exploring unknown wilds and laboring among untamed heathens.

In accordance with the custom of the French Jesuits in the New World, Allouez sent his maps and descriptions of the geography, fauna and flora of the west and his accounts of the customs and beliefs of the Indians and anecdotes of the life among them to his superior in Quebec. These papers were printed by the Jesuits in their famous "Relations." Historians and cartographers have frequently made use of these sources, and give witness to the excellent quality of the Father's work.

"One of the great merits of history is that it takes us out of ourselves -- away from obvious and accepted facts -- and discovers a reality that would otherwise be unknown to us."⁶ To read the life of Father Allouez reveals to us the strength and zeal that once made France a great nation and the Catholic Church the Queen and Mother of mission countries.

6. Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe, London, 1935, p.xvi.

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